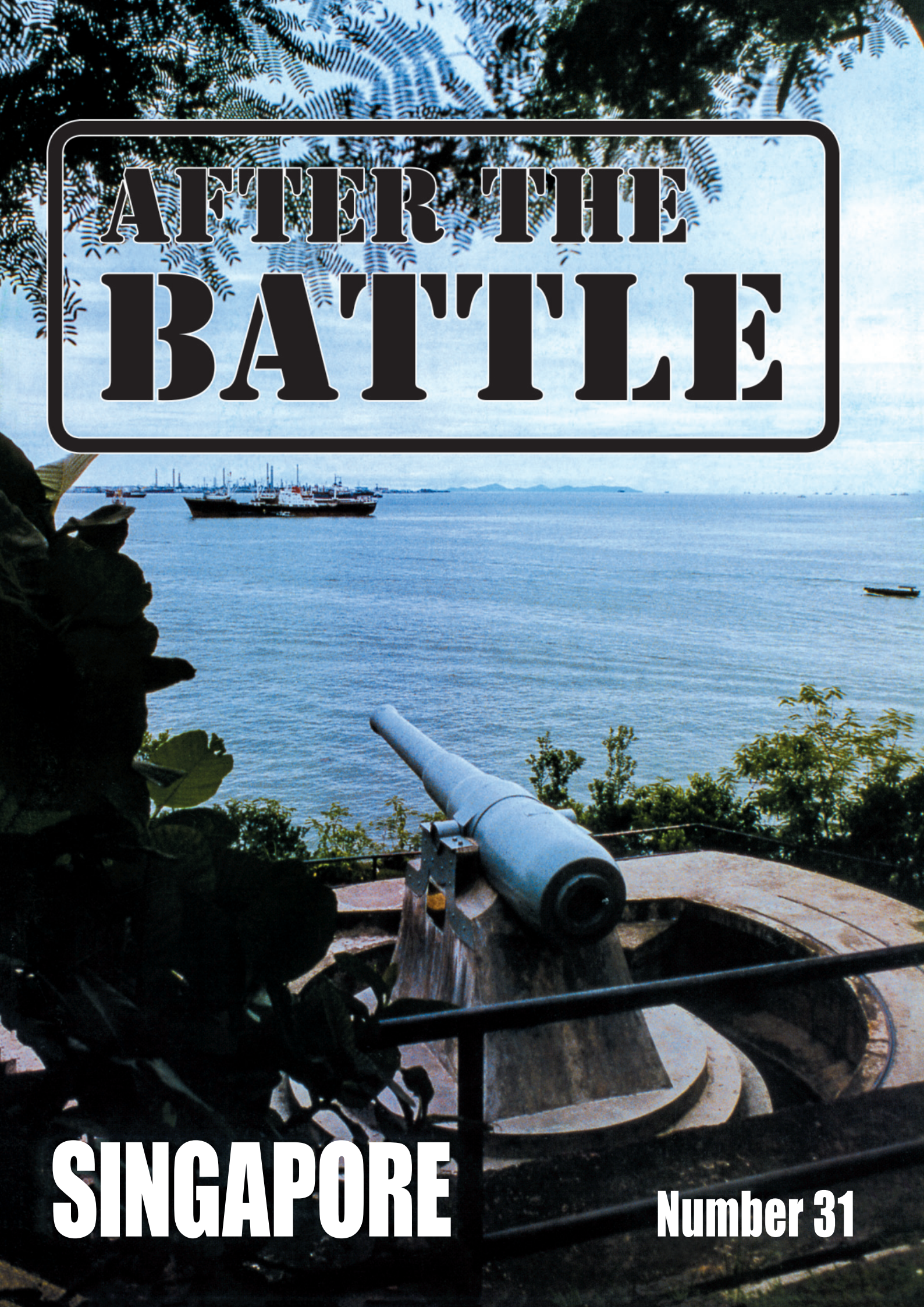

AFTER THE
BATTLE
SINGAPORE
Number 31

AFTER THE BATTLE

NUMBER 31

Edited by Winston G. Ramsey

Published by Battle of Britain Prints International Ltd., 3 New Plaistow Road, Stratford, London E15 3JA, England Telephone: 01-534 8833

Printed in Great Britain by Plaistow Press Magazines Ltd., London E15 3JA

© Copyright 1981

After the Battle is published quarterly on the 15th February, May, August and November.

United Kingdom Newsagent Distribution:
Seymour Press Ltd., 334 Brixton Road
London SW9 7AG. Telephone 01-733 4444

United States Trade Distribution and Subscriptions:
Sky Books International, Inc.,
48 East 50th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

Canadian Distribution and Subscriptions:
Yesterday's Glory, PO Box 264,
Brampton, Ontario, L6V 2LI

Dutch Language Edition:
Tijl Periodieken B.V.
Texelstraat 76-80
1181 ES Amstelveen, Holland
Telephone: 0 20 43 43 46

CONTENTS

SINGAPORE	1
Singapore 1980	18
CRIME IN WWII	
Nazi Gold	33
From the Editor . . .	42

Front Cover: Fortress Singapore in 1980. An 8-inch gun at Siloso Point overlooking Keppel harbour (Kevin Patience).

Centre Pages: The restored Gladiator N5641 at Rygge Main Air Base, Norway (Bjorn Olsen).

Back Cover: Bearing in mind the Wehrmacht used pack mules to transport the Reichsbank gold into the hills near Garmisch-Partenkirchen in 1945, this statue outside the old Gebirgschule barracks at Mittenwald (where the gold was stored overnight) is an ironic link with the mystery.

Acknowledgements:
Kevin Patience would like to thank the following, whose help was invaluable during his tour of Singapore: D.H.L. Ltd.; Ms. Evelyn Wee and Joyce Chin of the Singapore Tourist Board; Mr. Hilary Hogan of the Sentosa Island Development Board; Mr. John Lowe, Superintendent, MacRitchie Reservoir; Mr. Lim Chan Pew, Superintendent, Changi Jail, and special thanks to Mrs. Della Butcher.

The Editor is indebted to Geoffrey Adams, one of the first PoWs to occupy Sime Road Camp, for all his help and advice and for making Tosh Kano's memoirs available for the first time. Also to Kenneth Attiwill, author of *The Singapore Story*, published by Frederick Muller Ltd., London, for permission to quote the surrender discussion on pages 3 and 4. Photographs designated IWM are the copyright of the Imperial War Museum, London.

ISSN: 0306-154X

The surprise attack on the peninsula of Malaya announced the entry of Japan into the Second World War ninety-five minutes before Pearl Harbor. Although the local times of the Japanese operations record that Hawaii was attacked at 8.00 a.m. on December 7, 1941, with the first landing in Malaya occurring at 12.25 a.m. on December 8, conversion to Greenwich Mean Time gives the correct chronological order: Malaya at 4.55 p.m. on Sunday, December 7; Pearl Harbor at 6.30 p.m.; the first air raid on the Philippines at 9.00 p.m. and on Hong Kong at 11.30 p.m.

News of the assaults was first broadcast in England on the 9.00 p.m. news on Sunday evening and the following day Britain declared war on Japan with the delivery of a letter to the Japanese ambassador:

Foreign Office, December 8th

Sir,

On the evening of December 7th His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom learned that Japanese forces without previous warning either in the form of a declaration of war or of an ultimatum with a conditional declaration of war had attempted a landing on the coast of Malaya and bombed Singapore and Hong Kong.

In view of these wanton acts of unprovoked aggression committed in flagrant violation of International Law and particularly of Article I of the Third Hague Convention relative to the opening of hostilities, to which both Japan and the United Kingdom are parties, His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokyo has been instructed to inform the Imperial Japanese Government in the name of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that a state of war exists between our two countries.

I have the honour to be, with high consideration,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

As the Prime Minister commented afterwards: 'Some people did not like this ceremonial style. But after all when you have to kill a man it costs nothing to be polite'.

Top: **The Great Mosque in Arab Street Square suffered damage during a Japanese bombing attack on Singapore during the battle for the city.** *Above:* **Kevin Patience, who took all our photos in Singapore, had to wait in his bare feet for an hour to get permission to take this matching photograph in 1980.**

SINGAPORE

The decision to build a naval base at Singapore had been taken in 1921 and all subsequent defence arrangements depended on the ability of the British Fleet to control the sea approaches. The base was located on the north shore of Singapore Island, facing the Johore Strait, and it was intended that the fleet would deal with any enemy forces and cut the communications of any land or air units. The enemy was seen to be Imperial Japan and it was held that the duty of the Singapore garrison would be to hold out for up to seventy days until relief arrived.

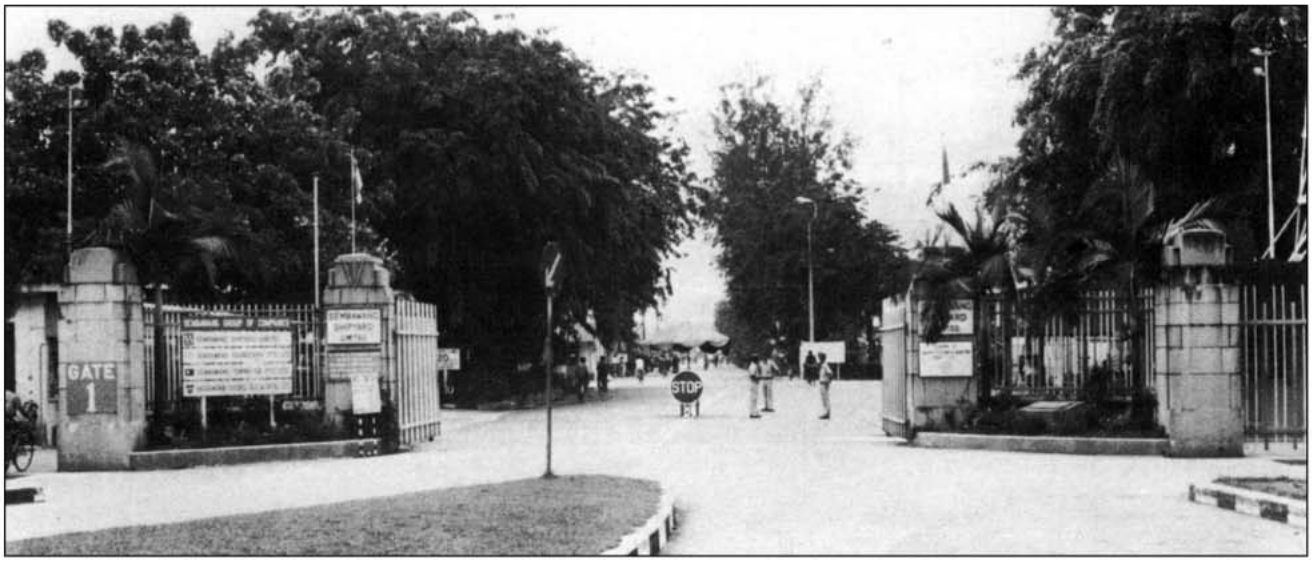
However, developments in aviation in the 1930s, including the threat of a carrier-borne air force, led to the addition of two more aerodromes to the one already existing on Singapore Island and the construction of others on the mainland. It was the Army's job to defend the airfields against attack although it was appreciated that these were sited for the best operational use — not for the best defence.

A review of the Singapore defence policy was made in 1937 with little change other than the 'period of relief' was extended to 180 days — a full six months — but the effects of the first year of war drastically altered this outlook. The Japanese advance into southern China brought the realisation that the defence of Singapore Island alone was not sufficient as the battleground would possibly extend to the whole of Malaya. This involved an increase in both the Army and Royal Air Force. By December 7, 1941, the strength of the RAF in Malaya had increased from eighty-four to 134 front-line aircraft although the Chiefs-of-Staff recommended that at least 582 aircraft were necessary for its defence. Likewise although the GOC Malaya, Lieutenant-General Arthur Percival, desired a minimum of forty-eight regular army battalions, these only numbered thirty-two when the Japanese launched their attack.

Within eight weeks of the first landings on the mainland, Japanese forces had crushed all resistance and driven British, Australian and Indian troops southward to Singapore. Exactly two months after the British declaration of war, early in the morning of February 8, 1942, Japanese troops began crossing the mile-wide Johore Strait in armoured assault barges. With the coming of daylight, hundreds of Japanese dive-bombers broke up the Allied counter-attacks and bombed the defences and airfields. By the following day, only six Hurricanes remained airworthy; the relentless Japanese air attacks being made easier by the closeness of their forward bases on the peninsula. The next night the Japanese landed tanks and by February 10 they had reached the railway line and the southern end of the Johore Causeway which links the island to the mainland. Although a section had been blown out of the causeway to deny the link to the attackers, Japanese engineers soon repaired the breach under cover of darkness and units of the Imperial Japanese Guard began to cross it. Thereafter the capture of the key high ground of Bukit Timah, with its water reservoirs and military depots, sealed the fate of Singapore city with its million inhabitants.

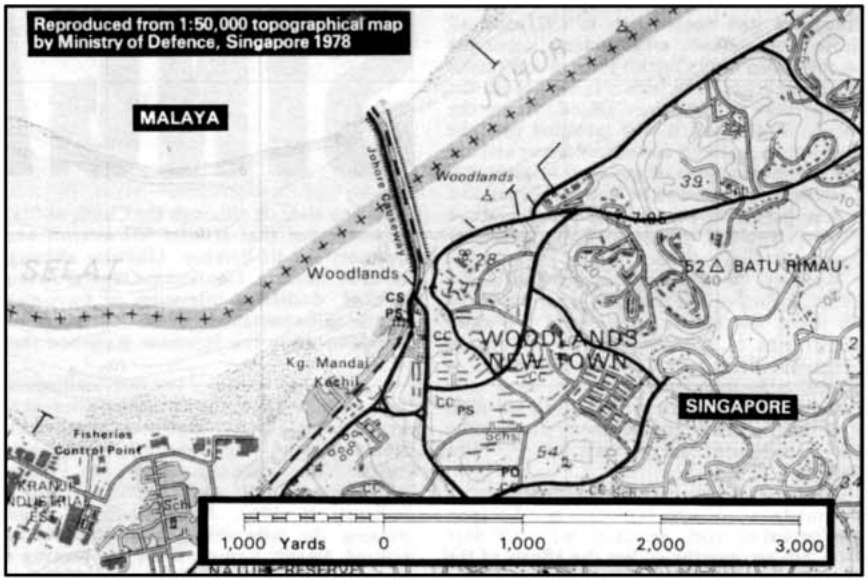
The Chiefs-of-Staff had cabled General Percival as early as January 21 about demolitions and destruction of all warlike supplies and depots and had strongly emphasised that a scorched-earth policy must be

Above: **The entrance to the Royal Naval Dockyard before the surrender (IWM).** *Below:* **No. 1 Gate to Sembawang Shipyard today. The pillars have been moved outwards to widen the road and a new crane replaces the one in the wartime photo. The railway track in the distance has been lifted.**

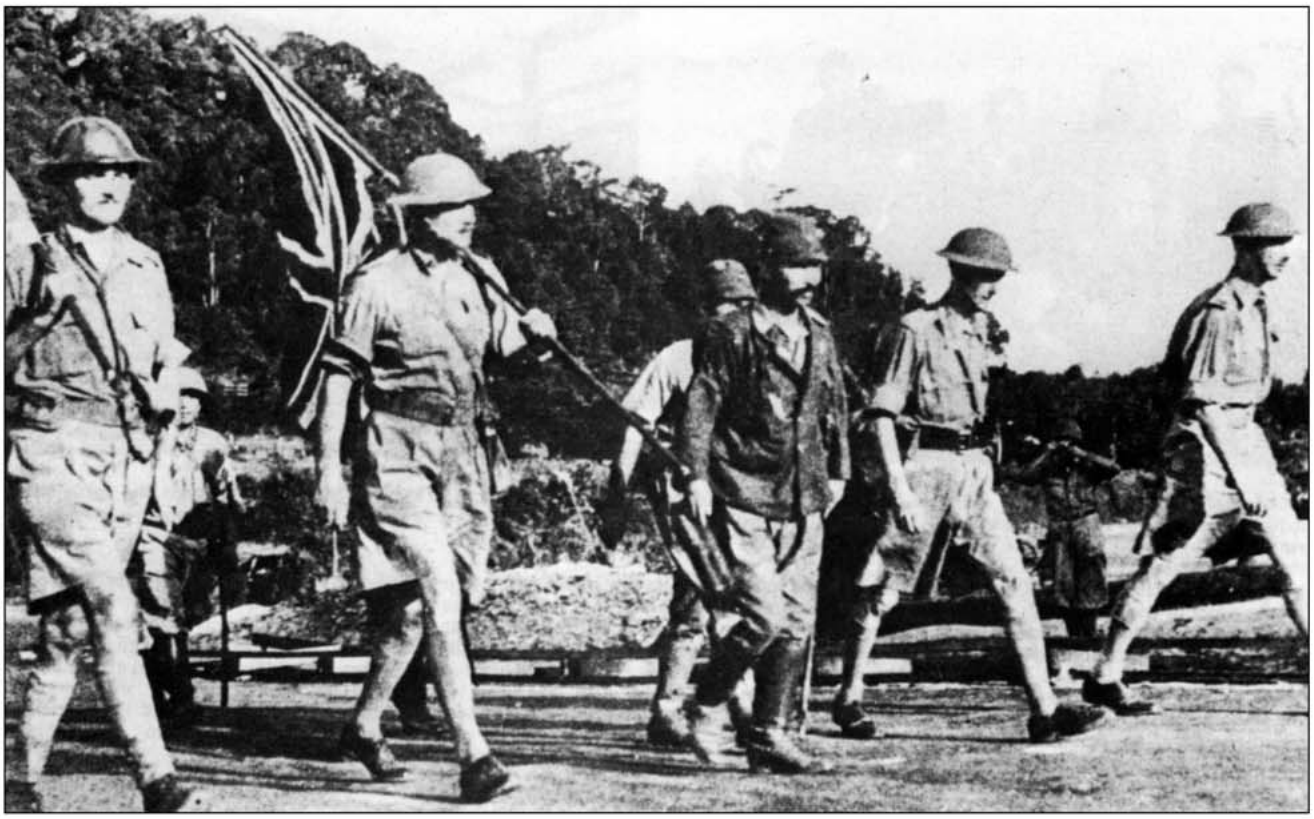


adopted to deny the defences and port installations to the enemy. Winston Churchill had commented that, 'the obvious method is to fire the ammunition at the enemy . . . the natural and long-prescribed course when the fall of a fortress is imminent. If the fortress is properly defended we are more likely to have a shortage of ammunition towards the end than be left with large dumps. The naval base should be completely wrecked so that the docks and workshops are rendered utterly useless for at least eighteen months; and, secondly, the fortress guns should all be destroyed and rendered unusable for a similar period.'

The programme of organised demolitions was put in hand but, by February 14, so critical was the plight of the civilians and remaining troops, pressed within an ever-decreasing perimeter around the city deprived of essential supplies, that Lieutenant-General Percival was obliged to accept that the time had come for surrender. General Tomoyuki Yamashita had already delivered his demand for capitulation in a note dropped from a Japanese aircraft; now General Percival concurred by the sending of two emissaries: Hugh Fraser, the acting Colonial Secretary and Brigadier Newbiggin, his chief administrative officer. The Japanese had instructed that representatives were to proceed to the Bukit Timah road bearing a large white flag and Union Jack. At 11.30 a.m. on February 15 they set off from Fort Canning in



The lifeline from the island of Singapore to the mainland of Malaya lay in 1942, as it still does in 1980, across the Causeway. The view above, taken from the island, shows the breach blown at 8.15 a.m. on the morning of January 31. In the background is Johore Palace — the Japanese HQ observation post for the assault. *Above:* **The map extract from the 1978 Singapore Ministry of Defence survey shows the Causeway today photographed** *below* **by Kevin Patience during his visit to Singapore in May 1980.**



Above: **Colonel Ichiji Sugita leads the surrender party up the approach road to the Ford factory at Bukit Timah. L-R: Captain C. H. D. Wild with the white flag (the interpreter), Brigadier K. S. Torrance with the Union Jack, Lieutenant Hishikara (interpreter) behind Colonel Sugita, Brigadier T. K. Newbiggin and Lieutenant-General Percival.**

an open car but it took more than two hours to negotiate the mined and cratered roads to make contact with the first Japanese outpost. By the time the pair had been extensively photographed by the enthusiastic Japanese it was 2.00 p.m. before they were able to hand General Percival's letter to General Yamashita. Percival had asked for a cease-fire at 4.00 p.m. to discuss terms of capitulation. However, the Japanese commander dismissed this offer out of hand and stated he was only prepared to accept unconditional surrender and this was the message that the two men took back to General Percival. Yamashita also demanded that Percival must present himself personally at the Ford Motor Company factory at Bukit Timah that evening.

At 4.30 p.m. General Percival, accompanied by three staff officers, set out for the Ford building. As they left their car and walked into the factory bearing the two flags of recognition, they were photographed by the Japanese. After keeping the group waiting for several minutes, General Yamashita arrived.

Yamashita. We have just received your reply. The Japanese Army will consider nothing but unconditional surrender.

Percival. It is 9.15 p.m. Japanese time, I fear we shall not be able to submit our final reply before midnight.

Y. (loudly) Reply to us only whether our terms are acceptable to you or not. Things have to be done swiftly as we are ready to resume firing in the evening.

P. Won't you please wait until you formally file into Singapore?

Y. It is impossible. In the first place, why not disarm all the British troops here, leaving only about 1000 armed gendarmes for maintaining peace? In the second place, under no circumstances can we tolerate further British resistance.

P. One of your terms handed to us demanded that we turn over certain representatives of the Chungking regime to you. Their names are not clear to us.

Y. By that we mean that you arrest and turn over to us Ching Kam Ming, one of the Chinese liaison men.

P. I ask that the Nippon Army reciprocate with us in discontinuing attack.

Y. Agreed. What has become of the Nippon citizens in Singapore?

P. They have all been transferred to India. We do not know exactly where. The British troops would like to cease fire at 11.30 p.m.

Y. That is too late. By 11.00 p.m. we shall place part of our Army in Singapore proper.

P. Unless you allow us to 11.30 p.m. I fear that I shall not be able to transmit the order to all my troops.

Y. Then 11.30 will do.

P. Please do not allow the Nippon Army to enter Singapore until tomorrow.

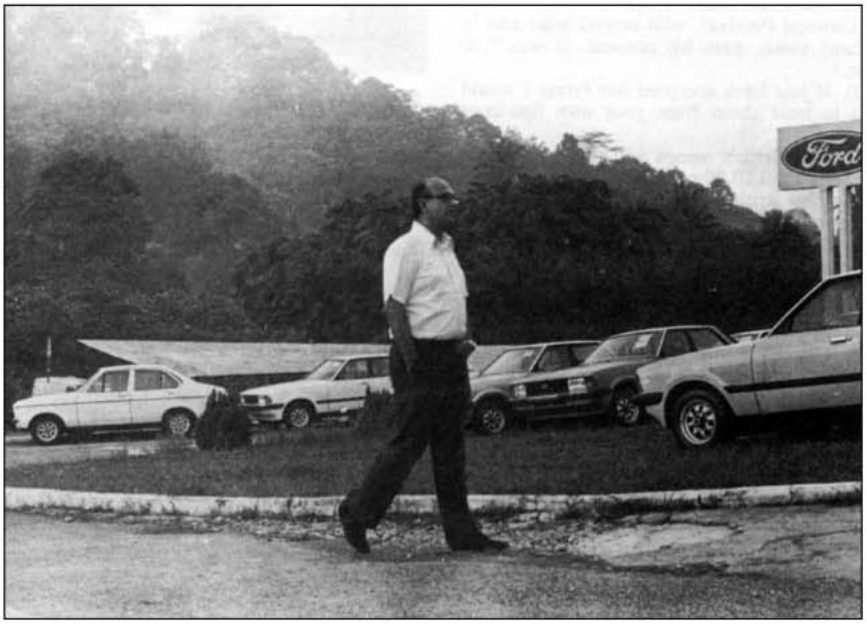
Y. Why not assemble all your arms immediately in the heart of Singpore so that our Army can check them?

P. Why not let us arrange that tomorrow morning?

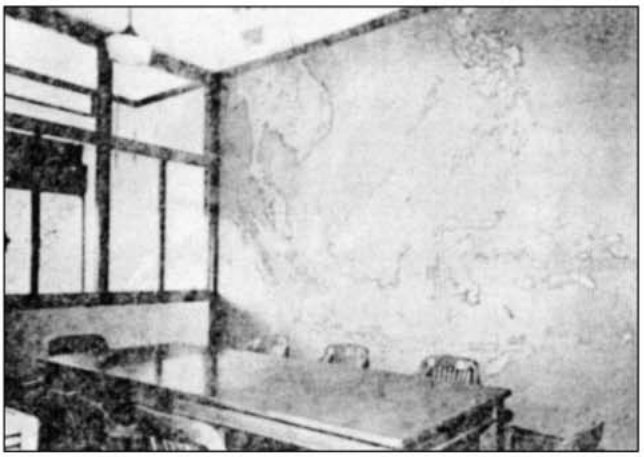
Y. It is a matter we can arrange as a side issue.

P. Even 11.00 p.m. is a little late for all troops to cease fire. Why not let them cease hostilities in their present position?

Y. In that case we shall continue firing until 11.30 p.m. I would advise you to order cessation of hostilities immediately.



Hilary Hogan of the Sentosa Island Development Board doubles for General Percival in this comparison of one of the best known photographs of WWII.



Left: **General Tomoyuki Yamashita, the 'Tiger of Malaya', thumps the table to emphasise a point to General Percival seated opposite (IWM). The historic surrender took place in the Ford conference room** *(right).*

P. I shall see that they cease firing immediately I return to my H.Q., and that the firing ceases by 11.30 p.m. In the City area the firing will cease immediately and in the distant areas not later than 11.30 p.m.

Y. As proof of your good faith we shall hold the Highest British Commanders and the Governor of the Straits Settlements in custody at our headquarters. (A look of amazement was noticed on General Percival's face.)

P. Cannot the Nippon Army remain in its present position so that we may resume notifications again tomorrow at 7.00 a.m.?

Y. What! I want the hostilities to cease tonight and I want to remind you that the question is strictly a matter of this. If you can discontinue resistance by 11.30 p.m. we shall hold the Highest Commander and the Governor of the Straits Settlements in our custody. If you cannot do this, the Highest Commander and the Governor must come to our H.Q. by 10.00 p.m.

P. We shall discontinue firing by 10.00 p.m. Nippon time. Had we better remain in our present positions tonight?

Y. Speaking on the whole, see that your troops remain in their positions and assemble tonight, disarmed, at the prescribed places. I approve of the cessation of hostilities at 10.00 p.m. After we have finished firing, all the British troops should disarm themselves save 1,000 men whom we shall permit to carry arms to maintain order. You have agreed to the terms, but you have not yet made yourself clear as to whether you have agreed to unconditional surrender or not.

(General Percival, with bowed head and in a faint voice, gave his consent. It was 7.30 p.m.)

Y. If you have accepted our terms I would like to hear them from your own lips once more.

P. The British troops will cease hostilities not later than 10.00 p.m. Nippon time.

Y. The British troops shall disarm themselves completely, except 1,000 men whom the Imperial Army will allow to carry arms in order to obtain peace and order. If your troops infringe upon these terms, the Imperial Japanese Army will resume hostilities immediately.

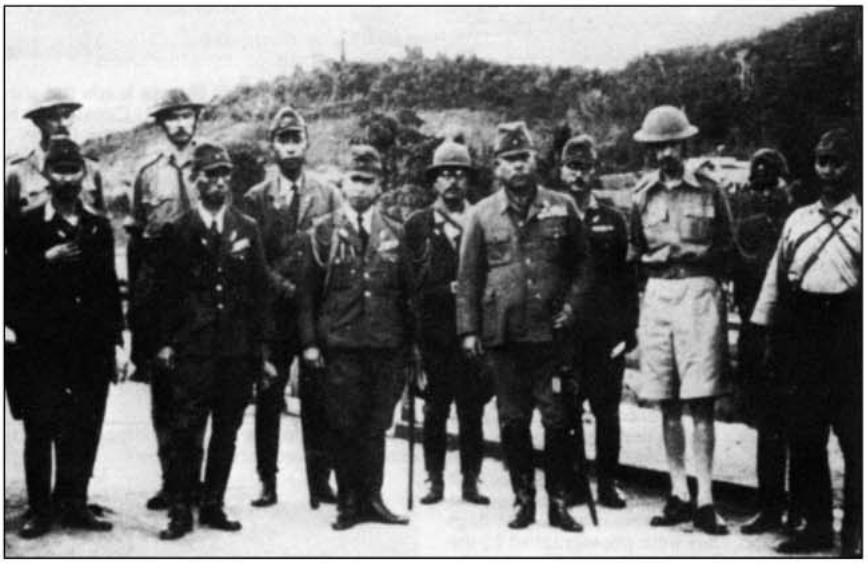
P. I agree. I have a request to make. Will the Imperial Army protect the women and children and the British civilians, men, women and children?

Y. We shall see to it. Please sign this truce agreement.

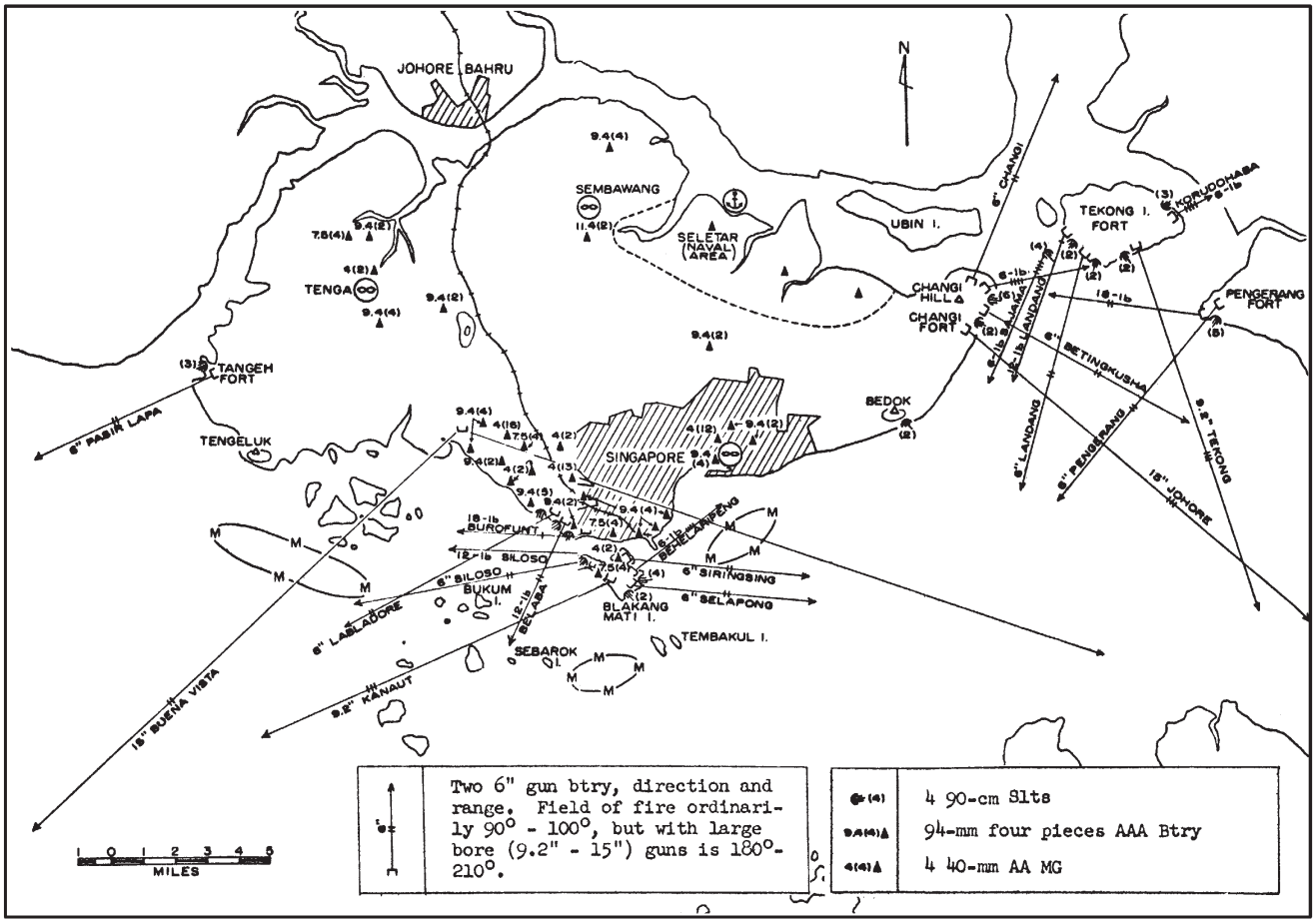
At 7.50 p.m. General Percival signed the surrender and just over two hours later the fighting stopped.

Whilst the loss of Malaya was a disaster of the first order to the Allied Command, to the Japanese it was a glittering prize which they lost no time in inspecting. On March 23 an Intelligence team, comprising Lieutenant-Colonel Masataka Numaguchi of the Army Technical Headquarters and Major Katsuji Akiyama of the Army Heavy Artillery School, left Tokyo on a two-month, fact-finding tour of the fortifications captured by Japanese forces in Singapore, Java and Sumatra. The survey group reported that, generally speaking, the British Army constructed fortresses in Singapore with the idea of warding off frontal attacks from the open sea. At all times sea and air attacks were emphasised and, although tremendous efforts had been made during the years just prior to the outbreak of war to strengthen these defences, they were still inadequate.

They found that the coastal areas facing the open sea were covered with wire entanglements, minefields and log barriers and that pillboxes had been established at



After the signing ceremony, the group were posed for a victory photograph outside the factory on a spot now occupied by the ubiquitous Ford motor car.



strategic points making amphibious operations extremely difficult. Special remote-controlled minefields, operated from a station at Beting Kusha Battery, had been installed underwater in place of sonar. The object of this system was to sink naval vessels, especially submarines, by tracing their course and detonating mines at an opportune time. In other words, if a strong magnetic object approached or entered the magnetic field created by the sensor coil in a designated ocean area (underwater or surface), a disturbance appeared on a screen indicating its position and the detonation of the pre-positioned mine followed.

Anti-submarine nets were also found laid connecting Singapore and the various islands (Bukum, Tembakul and others) on which were batteries, oil storage tanks or quarantine stations.

Altogether, the Japanese team discovered that fifty-two artillery pieces had been mounted in Singapore. The major batteries comprised five 15-inch navy guns of First World War vintage and six 9.2-inch guns constructed between 1903 and 1919. The eighteen 6-inch guns used as secondary batteries were all of 1900-1918 manufacture although the sixteen 6-pdr dual-mount guns were only one to five years old. There were also four 12-pdr guns and three 18-pdr field guns on fixed mounts.

The radar-controlled anti-aircraft defences consisted in the main of about fifty 3.7-inch fixed AA guns together with approximately eighty 40mm Bofors and thirty anti-aircraft guns of other types. The majority of the forty-nine 90cm fortress searchlights were located in Singapore and the survey team commented that the advantage of placing them on strategic islands in nearby waters had apparently not been considered.

Huge quantities of armaments and ammunition were captured at Singapore in various states of repair (see table). Some of the more modern weapons impressed the survey

Above: **Plan of the dispositions of the British Army fortifications at Singapore as at February 1942 as surveyed by Japanese. The investigating team were in Singapore between April 8—22, 1942. After the war, the Japanese manuscript was translated by the US Military Intelligence Service Group G2 of Far East Command Headquarters. Many errors became apparent and the original co-authors, Lieutenant-Colonel Numaguchi and Major Akiyama were traced in Japan and assisted in the complete re-writing of the text. However, in the combination of translation and re-writing, errors in names were compounded, viz., KANAUT for CONNAUGHT and LABLADORE for LABRADOR in the table *below*. Apart from judicious editing, the material has been reproduced as published by the Chief of Military History in Tokyo in May 1958 (Japanese Monograph No. 68).**

FORTRESS GUNS OF SINGAPORE

15-inch	
BUONA VISTA	Two guns — sufficient parts salvaged to mount one gun.
FORT JOHORE	Three guns — sufficient parts salvaged to mount one gun.
9.2-inch	
KANAUT	Three guns — all scrapped.
TEKONG	Three guns — all scrapped.
6-inch	
BETING KUSHA	Two guns — one gun repaired, one scrapped.
FORT CHANGI	Two guns scrapped.
LABLADORE	Two guns — one gun repaired, one scrapped.
LANDANG	Two guns scrapped.
PASIR LABA	Two guns scrapped.
PENGERANG	Two guns scrapped.
SELAPONG	Two guns scrapped.
FORT SILOSO	Two guns scrapped.
SIRINGSING	Two guns scrapped.
12-pdr	
BELABA	Two guns scrapped.
LANDANG	One gun scrapped.
FORT SILOSO	One gun repaired.
6-pdr	
BEHELA RIPENG	Four guns scrapped.
FORT CHANGI	Four guns scrapped.
KORUDOHABA	Four guns scrapped.
SAJAMA	Four guns scrapped.
18-pdr Fixed Gun	
BUROFUNT	One gun scrapped.
PENGERANG	Two guns scrapped.

These pictures of 'Fortress Singapore in action' were only released to the British public in November 1941; just three months later virtually all the guns were scrap.

team and they recommended that selected pieces be sent to Japan for evaluation. (They were particularly taken with the Vickers 40mm anti-tank gun and the pneumatic tyres on the equipment!)

It was intended that all the captured material which could be repaired would be re-issued to local Japanese units for the defence of the island. A large number of the fortress guns had been either demolished by explosives or by premature explosions in the bore and were considered by the team to be beyond repair. However, guns at four batteries were thought to be restorable and capable of further use after minor repairs. The largest was one of the 15-inch guns at Buona Vista Battery which still had a live shell in the breech. The team advised that a careful test should be conducted to determine whether the shell would slide back by its own dead weight by elevating the barrel gradually. If this method of extraction failed, an attempt should be made to fire the shell with a three-quarter charge after carefully checking the condition of all parts of the gun, especially the breech-block, recoil buffer and the counter-recoil mechanism.

The team said that the two 6-inch guns at Beting Kusha and Labrador Batteries appeared to be operational although the barrels were badly rusted and the breech-blocks needed replacing. Finally the 12-pdr gun at Siloso Battery on Sentosa Island was only missing the firing mechanism which could most probably be made up with parts from other guns.

The condition of the four other 15-inch guns, the six 9.2-inch, sixteen 6-inch, the three 12-pdr and the eight 6-pdr dual-mount guns was reported as being hopeless and that their only use would be for cannibalisation or scrap.

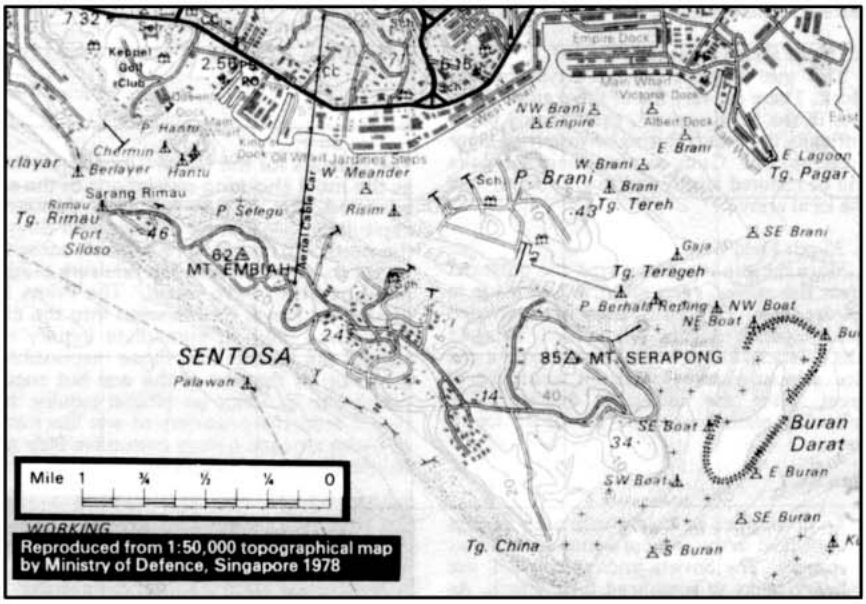
The team recommended that serviceable rifles, machine guns and other small arms should be classified and stored with their respective ammunition for future use while weapons for which no ammunition was available or which were beyond repair should be destroyed by burning or dumping at sea.

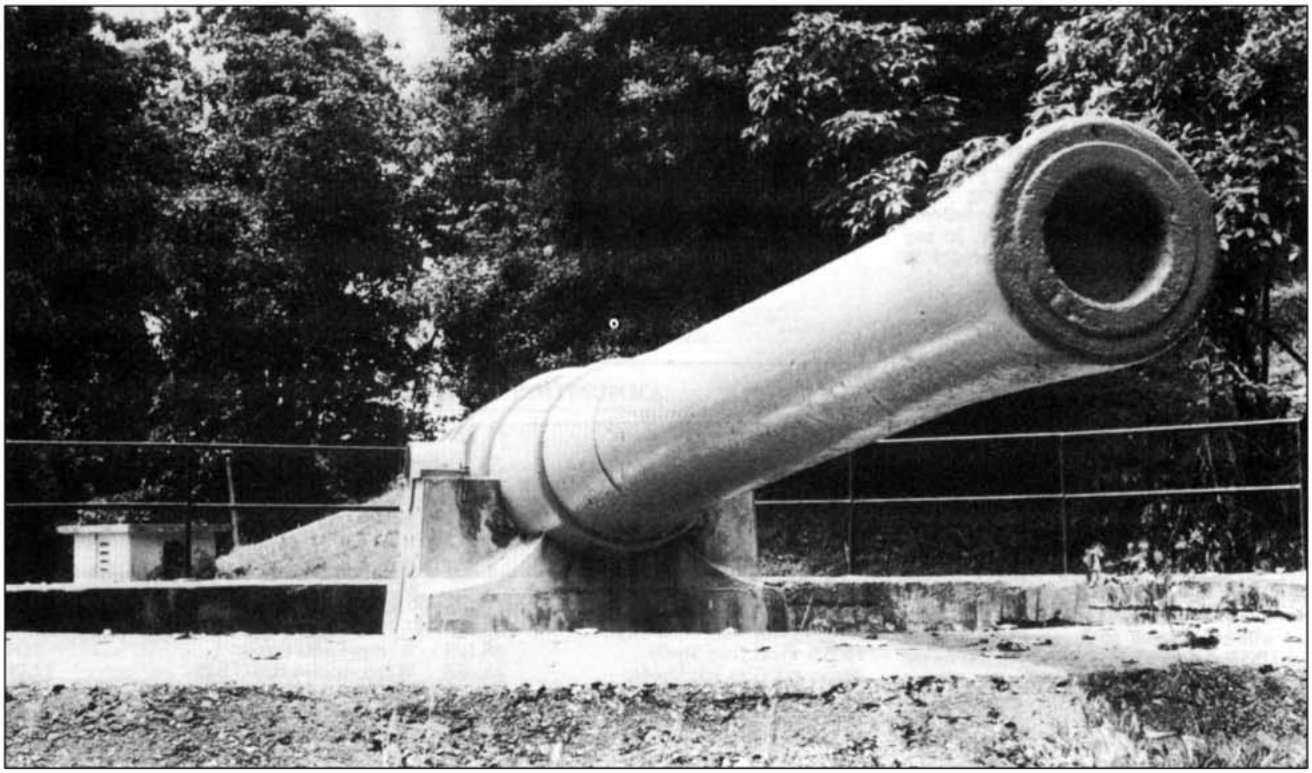
As the layout of the Allied defence system did not conform exactly to the Japanese Southern Area Defence Policy, plans were also made to resite several of the batteries. However, as the British had destroyed all the range tables for the fixed artillery pieces and removed or destroyed the sights and breech-blocks, new firing calculations had to be

FIELD ARTILLERY CAPTURED AT SINGAPORE
(as recorded by the Japanese)

Type of Gun	Total No.	Perfect	Minor Repair	Extensive Repair	Scrapped
Vickers 6-inch Howitzer	2	1	—	—	1
4.5-inch Howitzer	68	22	21	11	14
Vickers 3.7-inch Howitzer	16	3	—	—	13
25-pdr Field Gun	150	36	27	23	64
18-pdr Field Gun (Motor Trailer)	15	3	5	6	1
18-pdr Field Gun (1904 Type)	28	18	4	4	2
75mm Field Gun	18	9	2	—	7
Vickers 40mm Anti-tank Gun	100	40	56	2	2
Bohler 47mm gun	9	9	—	—	—
3-inch Mortar	88	88	—	—	—
2-inch Mortar	140	140	—	—	—

Fort Connaught on Pulau Blakang Mati Island (opposite Keppel Harbour on the southern side of Singapore) mounted three 9.2-inch guns. There was only a reputed thirty rounds provided for each gun so that had Singapore held out for the 180 days allowed for in the British blueprint for its defence, they could only have fired one shell at the enemy every six days! As the map on page 5 shows, they were all part of the 'Great Myth' — the claim of impregnability for Singapore — a claim which was no doubt valid if the island was attacked from the sea. In the event the Japanese came in by the open back door. Orders had been given that all guns were to be spiked before their capture, usually accomplished by 'one up, one down', i.e. by inserting a shell upside down in the muzzle and firing another at it from the breach. Although the Japanese report stated that all three 'Connaught' guns were scrapped, the undamaged barrels of two were found in 1972 and taken to the extreme western tip of the island (renamed Sentosa Island — see map) where they were set up for public display in the old 6-inch emplacements.





developed and new parts manufactured or removed from other guns before these weapons could be brought into use again.

The team also gave interesting reports on all the field equipment that had been captured:

1. 4.5-inch Howitzer.

Antiquated model with motor trailer having a maximum range of approximately 6,000 metres. It is equal in efficiency to the Japanese Type-38 120mm howitzer. Guns requiring minor repair will be restored locally. Others will be dismantled for spare parts, while some will have to be scrapped.

2. Type 1904 18-pdr Field Gun.

This is an obsolete horse-drawn model. These guns will be equipped with simple detachable gun mounts (similar to those employed by the British Army in coastal defence) manufactured locally, and will be employed directly as coastal defence artillery. For this purpose, guns requiring minor repairs will be repaired locally. The disposal of others will be conducted in the same manner as paragraph 1.

3. 18-pdr Field Gun (motor trailer).

This gun employs the screw-type breech-block. There are very few of these guns. Since it is of the 'inch system', there should be no difficulty in manufacturing or supplying a few breech-blocks. Guns requiring minor repairs will be restored locally and used to strengthen the local army.

4. 25-pdr Field Gun.

Since the gun is a recent type and possesses great fire power, every effort will be made to restore them. To do this, parts from salvaged guns, especially sights, will be used. This gun has a detachable gun mount and, since it can fire armour-piercing shells, it would be of great value for anti-tank defence. The following plans have been drawn up for its use:

Plan No.1

To be shipped to Japan to be used against the USSR in the event of a conflict with that country. The Soviets undoubtedly will use heavy tanks to spearhead their attack. As our army has no adequate armament to meet heavy tanks, the 25-pdr field guns could be employed for that purpose.

Plan No.2

To be used by the local army at the right time and place. Blueprints of required parts (breech-blocks, sights, etc.) will be made locally and, if at all possible, the parts will be manufactured at the Bandoeng Work Depot in Java. If not, parts will be ordered from Japan and assembled locally. In any case, the old-style sights of the Model 38 field gun will be used in place of the missing telescopic sights. Further research will be made on gun mounts and other parts.

5. Vickers 40mm Anti-Tank Gun

This is a recent model and an excellent anti-tank gun equipped with a 360-degree traversing mount. A great number of this type of gun were found but the majority of them were damaged (change of firing pin). Repairs can be done locally. Approximately fifteen sights are missing and these can be replaced with sights taken from our tanks or anti-tank guns. Should there appear to be any likelihood of sizeable anti-tank warfare in the south-west Pacific, these guns will be reconditioned and kept as reserve guns. If not, they will be shipped to Japan to be used as anti-USSR defence (guns already in use by the local army will remain in Singapore).

6. Trench Mortars

The 2-inch and 3-inch mortars will be reconditioned and used by the local army.

SMALL ARMS CAPTURED AT SINGAPORE
(as recorded by the Japanese)

Items	Total No.	Present Figures and Condition* Superior	Medium	Inferior	Delivered to Units	Scrapped
Bayonets	58,079	26,077	1,111	27,926	2,965	—
Sabres	34	30	4	—	—	—
Rifles	54,597	26,578	3,573	5,199	14,113	5,134
Automatic Rifles	1,350	238	91	40	669	312
Pistols	3,775	1,860	10	96	417	1,392
Very Pistols	248	24	2	—	—	222
Rifle Grenade Launchers	105	25	2	3	—	75
Hunting Rifles	750	511	210	29	—	—
LMG	2,297	761	213	491	438	394
HMG	707	106	21	46	101	433
AA LMG Tripods	218	8	2	203	5	—
Double-barrel AA MG	5	—	—	1	4	—
13.97mm AT Rifles	248	171	45	20	12	—

* classified as at mid-1942

The reasons for the fall of Singapore after only seven days fighting have been described as the most shocking revelations of the entire Second World War. Winston Churchill has admitted that it was not until January 16, 1942 — less than a month before its capitulation — that he realised that Singapore was not defended against an attack from the north. To his credit he publicly accepted his share of the blame when he wrote that, 'I ought to have known. My advisers ought to have known and I ought to have been told and I ought to have asked.' The Prime Minister said he judged it impossible to hold an inquiry by Royal Commission into the circumstances while the war was still on yet the Americans held an immediate inquiry on Pearl Harbor and, within two months, had named the failures and those responsible. Churchill thought the whole matter could be taken up at the end of the war but successive British Parliaments of both parties have refused to conduct an official inquiry. It has therefore been left to post-war historians (some resentful prisoners-of-war like Kenneth Attiwill with 'The Singapore Story') to try to make amends before memories fade and the 'worst disaster and largest capitulation in British history' is forgotten.

AMMUNITION CAPTURED AT SINGAPORE

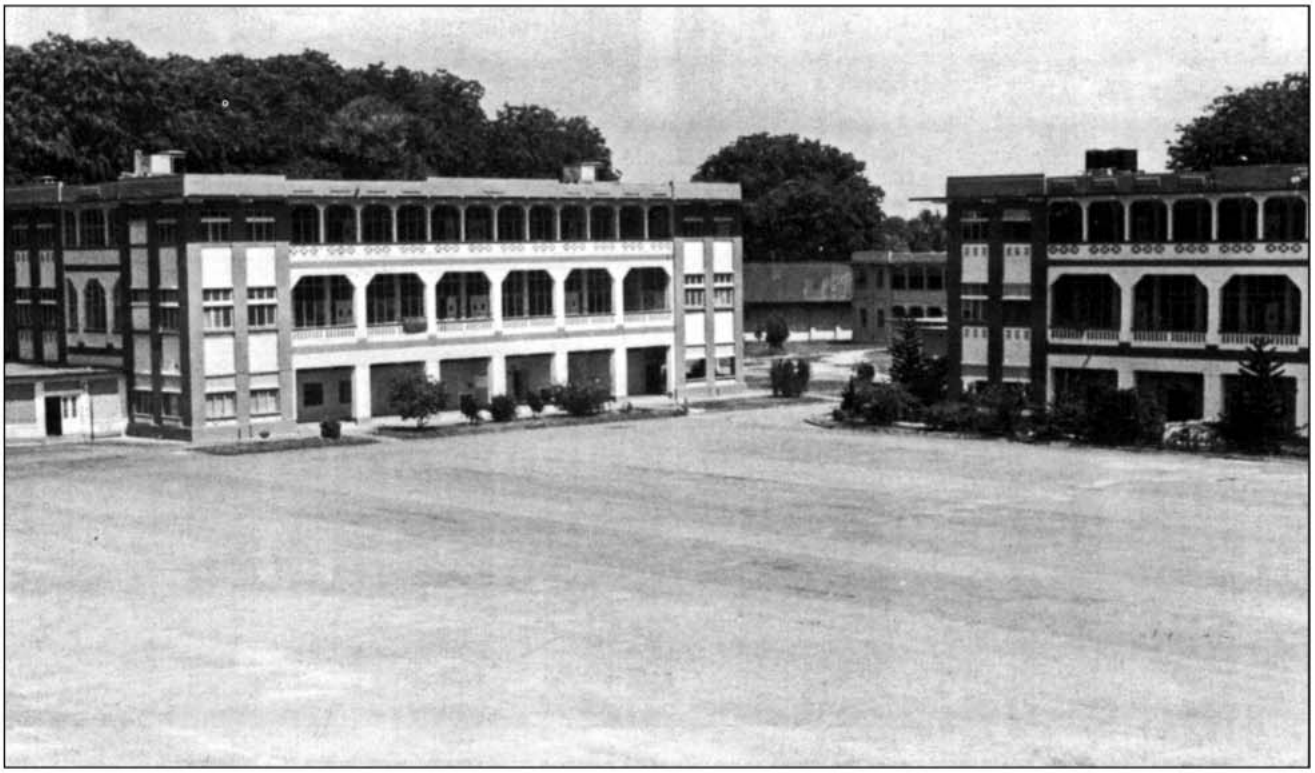
4.5-inch Howitzer HE Shells	17,935	3-inch Trench Mortar HE Shells	28,566
4.5-inch Howitzer HE Long Pointed Shells	73,558	2-inch Trench Mortar HE Shells	169,856
25-pdr Field Gun HE Shells	68,852	2-inch Trench Mortar Smoke Shells	60,528
25-pdr Field Gun Long Pointed Shells	73,196	Pistol ball	216,380
25-pdr Field Gun HE Armour-piercing Shells	2,692	Sub-machine gun ball	143,200
25-pdr Field Gun Smoke Shells	12,776	Rifle ball	18,073,638
25-pdr Field Gun Shell Cases	228,225	Rifle tracer	69,120
18-pdr Field Gun Shells	58,529	Rifle blank	92,900
40mm AT Gun HE Shells	18,888	7.92mm LMG ball	20,000
3-inch AA Gun HE Shells	44,702	7.7mm LMG ball	468,340
3-inch AA Gun Anti-personnel Shells	2,308	7.7mm LMG tracer	7,396
40-mm AA Machine Gun HE Shells	89,620	Water-cooled HMG ball	12,900
		Link belt MG ball	5,400
		7.62mm AA HMG ball	56,000
		13.9mm AT rifle ball	360,494

Selarang Barracks, September 1942 during the 'Incident'. More than 15,000 PoWs were incarcerated in the barracks during the trial of strength with the Japanese authorities over the Allied refusal to sign the 'no escape' pledge.

The Allied defeat at Singapore had resulted in the loss of nearly 140,000 Australian, British and Indian troops killed, wounded or captured for the equivalent of 9,824 Japanese casualties. The bulk of the Allied prisoners were concentrated at Changi at the south-eastern extremity of the island, originally a huge British military base with barracks, stores, workshops and gun batteries which had been evacuated on February 7. The order to move to Changi was given on February 16 and, over the next two days, upwards of 50,000 troops were concentrated in four of the army barracks. Selarang Barracks housed 15,000 Australian prisoners with the British and some Dutch captives occupying Roberts, Kitchener and India Barracks. Roberts also became the hospital and additional tented accommodation was provided to the north of India Barracks in the 'Java Lines'. General Percival administered the camp until the Japanese organised their own staff in August 1942 and transferred most of the senior British officers to Formosa.

No sooner had Major-General Fukuei and a large Japanese administrative staff arrived to set up a proper prisoner-of-war camp regime than four escapees from a camp at Bukit Timah were caught after rowing some 200 miles in a small boat. As a consequence, since the Japanese did not believe that a prisoner-of-war had the right to escape, all the prisoners were asked to sign the following statement: 'I the undersigned hereby solemnly

Built in 1937, since 1971 when the British services left the island, the barracks have been used by the Singapore Armed Forces.



swear on my honour that I will not, under any circumstances, attempt to escape.'

Colonel Holmes, the senior British officer, pointed out that PoWs were not allowed to give their parole and both officers and men refused to sign.

The next step was to order that all British and Australian prisoners in Changi (approximately 17,000 by then) were to concentrate in Selarang Barracks. (This has since been calculated as probably the highest density of imprisoned human beings since the 'Black Hole of Calcutta'.)

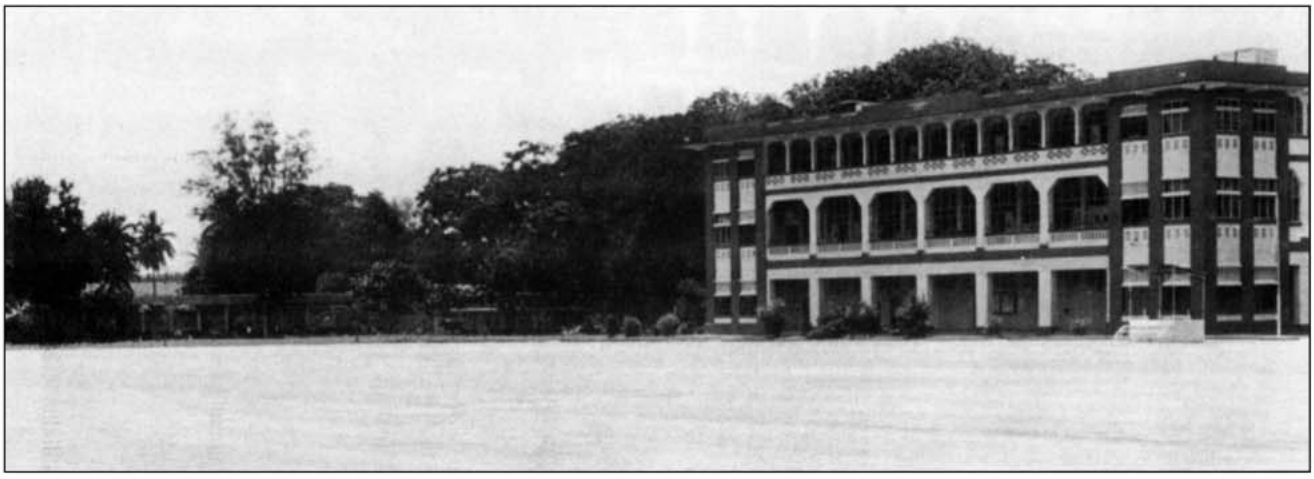
On September 2 a move to break the stalemate was taken by the Japanese by ordering the senior commanders to witness the execution of the four men who had escaped. After being taken to a nearby beach, they were shot in a botched execution by Indian Sikhs.

After three days in Selarang Barracks, sanitation, water supply and feeding became so bad that the Allied PoW medical officers advised that there was a danger of an epidemic threatening the life of everyone. Senior commanders, appreciating that live prisoners were better than dead ones, ordered the men to sign the pledge under duress. After doing so, the prisoners were returned to their original barracks — the whole episode now being known as the 'Selarang Incident'.

In June 1942, the Japanese decided to erect a war memorial and Shinto temple on Singapore Island and chose a location at Bukit Timah, close by the Ford Motor Company factory where the surrender had been signed. The liaison officer between the Japanese engineering corps, ordered to construct the memorial and temple, and the British and Australian PoWs who were to be employed on the task was Lieutenant Toshiyuki Nekemoto.

In January 1942 General A. P. Wavell was appointed Supreme Commander of the ill-fated ABDA Command (standing for American, British, Dutch and Australasian although it also included Chinese, Indian and New Zealand participation). He is seen here on the parade ground at Selarang Barracks with men of the Gordon Highlanders (IWM).

A few months later the same square was filled with an indescribable mass of humanity — secretly photographed by one of the prisoners. The men in the photo *above right* are cutting up a goat and preparing it for the pot (IWM).



Thirty-eight years later peace again reigns over the spotless square. The saluting base stands outside the HQ building.

Lieutenant Toshiyuki Nekemoto, liaison officer on the memorials project.

The ignominious end of the Selarang protest. An officer signs the non-escape form 'under duress' (IWM).

Lieutenant Nekemoto's parents had moved to Hawaii before the war and Toshiyuki was born a 'Nisei' — a second generation Japanese. Although born on US territory an American citizen, the Japanese never admitted that anyone born of Japanese nationals could be anything other than Japanese. When war broke out, Tosh Kano (to use his Americanised name) was studying in Japan and was thus automatically enrolled in the services. However, it seems that higher authorities were always concerned about divided loyalties in such cases and they therefore, if possible, avoided sending Japanese born in the United States to fight directly against American forces. (Tosh became a civil engineer after the war working at US Marine Corps air bases in the USA and Japan and was stationed at Iwakuni, a joint USMC/JMSDF base, when taken ill in June 1976. Stomach cancer was diagnosed and, tragically, he died later that year.)

The following extract from his unpublished memoirs has kindly been made available to us by his widow through Geoffrey Adams, and gives an interesting insight into the life of the PoW in Singapore from the Japanese point of view:

'After arriving in Singapore on June 5, 1942, I went to Fort Changi. This was the PoW headquarters. I met Lieutenant Ochi who was the commander of the PoW camp. He said, "I will give your regiment 2,000 British and 500 Australian PoWs. They will be ready for you in about a week." I told him, "That is fine, because we have to prepare their camps."

'We located our camps and the five PoW camps near the race track in Bukit Timah. People living in the area selected for the camp sites had to move out. The PoW camps had only one line of barbed wire fence around them with one entrance. We could only spare four Japanese soldiers to guard this entrance, not from the PoWs but from the outsiders. Each PoW camp was controlled by its own PoW camp commander and its own military regulations. A selected number of PoWs worked every day except Sunday. Our company commander sent in to me the number of PoWs needed for the next day. I sent this order to each PoW camp. The PoWs started working at seven, rested two hours in the afternoon, then worked again from two till five. Every day, each PoW group was led by its own officer to march back and forth between the job site and camp. Two short Japanese soldiers followed behind them. Even in the marching the British were full of pride. They didn't want to be seen by the local people as

Above: **The Sime Road Camp, situated close by MacRitchie Reservoir, was ideally located to provide the labour for construction of the Shinto temple (IWM).** *Below:* **The temple, named Shonan Jinjya, was located on the top of the tree-covered hill in the background. A road led across this green to a bridge which was built across the neck of the reservoir to provide access. Today, the road, bridge and shrine have all gone and the golf links, now reinstated, are the pride of the Singapore Golf Club.**

losers. They marched very orderly with their proud officer leading with a short commanding rod in his hand.

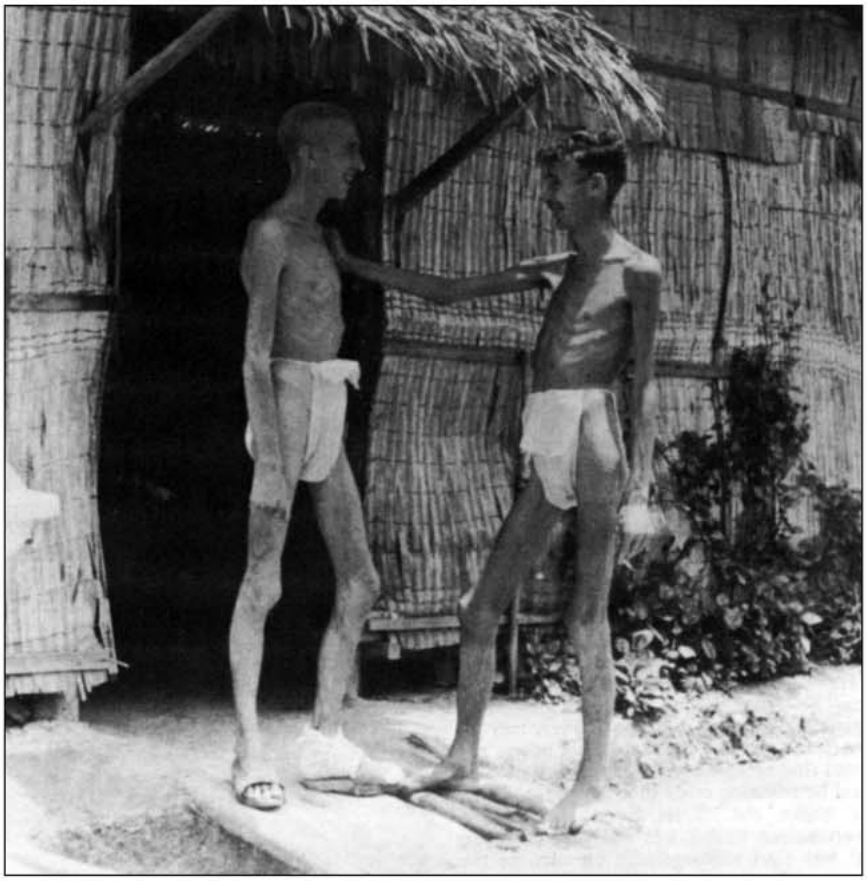
'Besides the PoWs we had about 200 local people working as labourers or stone masons on the construction of the stone stairs for the temple and monument. Our regiment had four companies with a total of 1,500 men. One company worked on the monument with the Australian camp while another company worked on the temple using two British camps. Two companies worked on the roads with the remaining two British camps so all of the PoW camps were directly under the control of our companies.

'At the job site, each PoW officer received the work order from the Japanese officer in charge and controlled his men accordingly. The PoW working area was separated from that of the Japanese soldiers but, at the noon rest period, I saw many groups of both soldiers and PoWs playing cards together. They all seemed very friendly and to enjoy themselves. Soldiers are fast to make friends and, even in spite of the language differences, they somehow managed to communicate with each other.

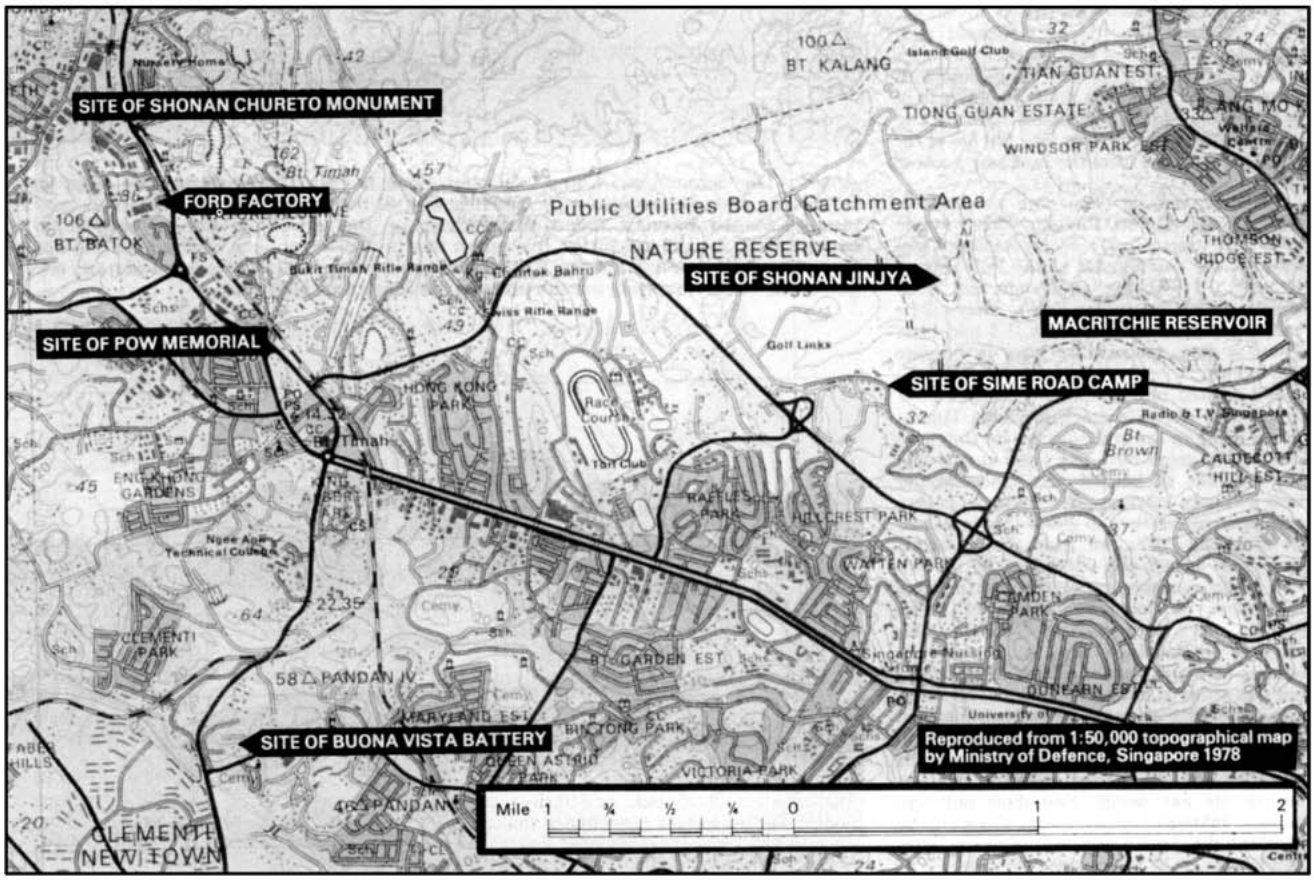
'Any matter or problem concerning the work or the PoWs was brought directly to me. My PoW corresponding squad took care of any special notice needed to the PoW camps for me. This method went very smoothly with no trouble. It was my first experience with the PoWs but I was very surprised that they were very obedient, orderly and had no worries about being losers.

'Some of the matters we handled were as follows:

'Firstly the Japanese companies were not using many PoWs because the companies could not spare any more of their men to control the PoWs. Besides that, there were language problems. The PoW camps wanted to send out more men in order to keep them from being bored. I called a meeting between both the Japanese and British camp officers to discuss this problem. We reached the solution that the Japanese companies would use more



The loin-cloth routine, illustrated here by two cheerful PoWs. Geoffrey Adams, one of the prisoners in Sime Road who helped build the shrine (and who kindly made Tosh Kano's memoirs available to us) was one of the sufferers of the scrotal dermatitis which affected most of the PoWs: 'It was loathsome and extremely painful but, caused as it was by the lack of vitamins in our diet, there was little that could be done about it. Among its more embarrassing symptoms was that it made one walk bow-legged!'



PoWs if they would be under the control of the PoW officers. The Japanese project officer would give the job order to the British officer and he would instruct his men and have them work accordingly. This turned out very well.

'Secondly, although we were supplying enough food to the camps, the British could not have rice as their main food like the Japanese. They needed wheat flour for their bread so I asked for this but Headquarters Supply Office rejected it. Instead I was told to teach the British to learn to eat rice. The only way to settle this problem was to figure a way to cook the rice so that the British could eat it. I called the camp mess staff to discuss this matter. We decided to make rice flour and try to make bread. Our trial was very successful and, even though it wasn't like wheat flour, it turned out to be pretty good. Better than boiled rice. There was no other food problem.

'Our most difficult problem was with the clothing and boots. I could not get any from our headquarters supply. Each PoW had two shirts, two shorts, two stockings and one pair of boots. Each camp had little stock on hand. The only way we could make do was not to wear them out. In regards to clothing, I suggested to the PoW camps that it was a good idea to send their men out to work without shirts in order to save them. They could use them in their camps at night. The camps agreed and went out to work without shirts. This not only saved the wear and tear on shirts but gave the soldiers good tanned bodies and made them healthy. For the boots' soles, I asked the quartermaster for worn out tyres which were piled in the yard. This I got right away because they wanted to get rid of them. With these tyres we made shoe soles. It turned out to be very good, maybe better than leather.

'Later in August, for the PoWs, we received from the South African Red Cross many supplies of canned foods, clothing, boots, big Australian hats, etc. We had a warehouse full for our PoWs. I was ordered to pick it up. So I met with the British camp commanders to discuss the matter of distribution. They all suggested that it would be better if they were allowed to handle the distribution among themselves. They all believed it would be faster and fairer. I reported this suggestion to my commander. He agreed and said it was a very good idea. He allowed me to go by the PoWs suggestions. We decided that the Japanese would furnish the transportation and the British the labour. We went down to the warehouse and received our goods. I don't know how the distribution was agreed among the PoWs themselves but I found no argument or complaints. The British were very happy. I saw them having parties every night. I was invited to each camp's party and tasted the Australian canned meat.

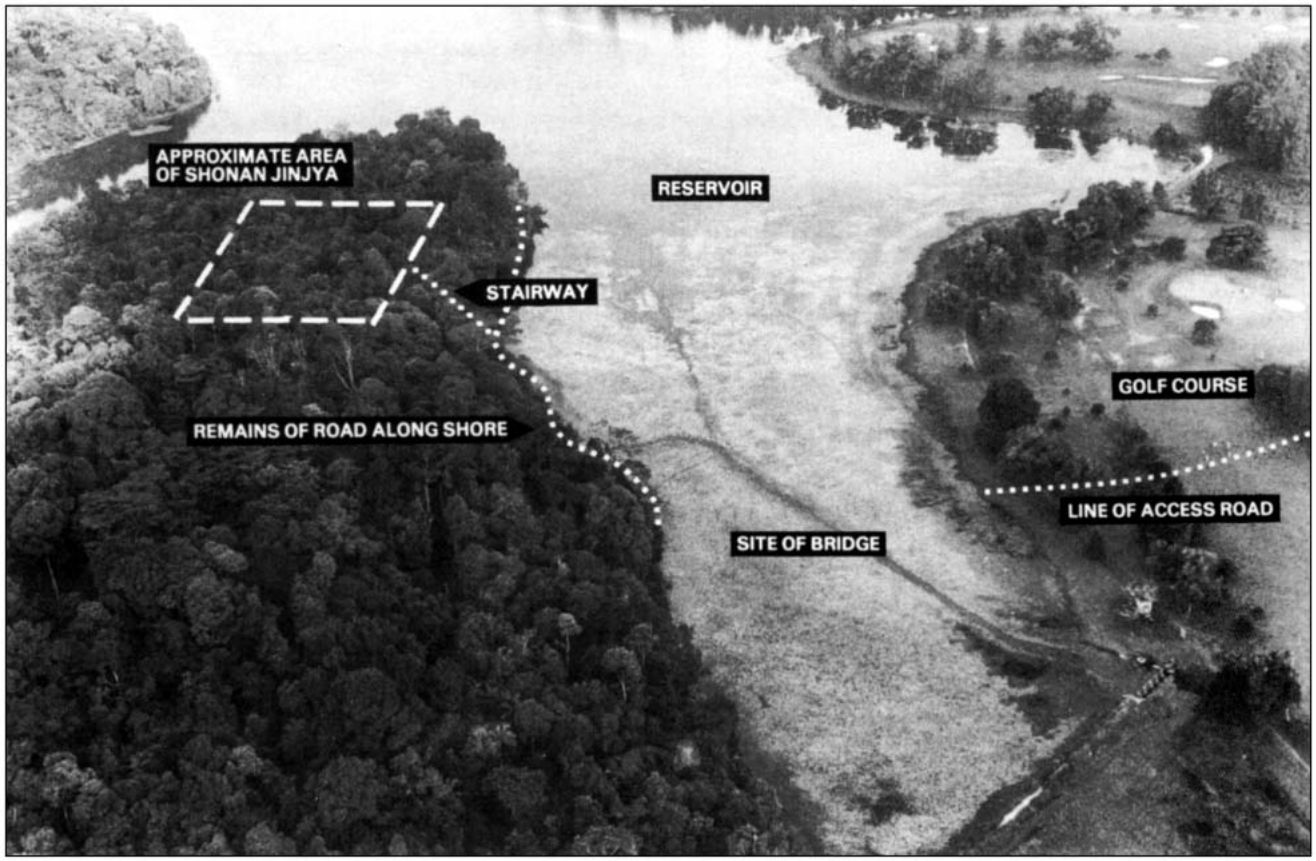
'As for medical problems, we had many skin diseases because of the shortage of bathing water. Thus we killed two birds with one stone by letting the PoWs go out working without shirts, which not only saved the shirts but, with plenty of sunshine, their skin became tanned and their skin diseases cured.

'The outer skin diseases were easily cured by this method but not the inner skin diseases. I mean the ones under cover, the chaffing. *(The PoWs called it Changi Balls or Shonan Scrotum. Ed.)* It was very hard to cure. We decided to use the Japanese soldier's loincloth underwear. It is a piece of cloth two feet long and about seven inches wide, with straps sewed to both ends just like an apron only it is put on the back and tied in front. Then the hanging cloth end was brought to the front between the legs and pushed under the straps. It is much more comfortable and easier to wash. I have pictured the usage of this loincloth underwear and the treatment of the inner diseases. The patients were lined up in front of the medics who were sitting down in chairs with iodine and paint brushes in their hands. The medics would hold the patient's penis up with chop-sticks and busily paint the iodine on the diseased penis under and around the roots. After painting, you can imagine how busy the patients were fanning with newspapers and magazines. This piece of cloth became very handy because the penis could stick out from the hole made in the cloth to prevent the penis from getting wet from the iodine. This rough treatment cured the skin diseases even though it burned a little.

'For the piano in the recreation rooms, I gathered all the damaged pianos I could get and let the experts among the PoWs take whatever parts needed and assemble one piano out of the damaged ones. Funny thing, there is always some expert in any kind of work. This way we managed to make a piano for each camp.

'Our biggest problem was that the PoWs wanted to organise a searching party to gather their dead believed to be left unburied in the nearby jungles. I reported this matter to my commander, Colonel Yasuji Tamura *(who was OC 5 Divisional Engineer Regiment and who had landed his unit at Singora, Thailand, on December 8, 1941 and then fought all the way down the Malay Peninsula to conduct the landings on the north-west coast of Singapore — Ed.)*. He understood the situation very much and agreed to that suggestion. He mentioned that in battle we are enemies but, after it is over, we are all human beings and friends. He promised he would do his best to get permission from the General of the 5th Division. Beside this, he said he would try to get permission to allow the construction of a monument to the British dead like the one we were building for the Japanese dead. He believed it would be fair and humane to do so.

'He went to see the General about this search party and the British monument. The permit for the search party was released without question but not the monument. My commander had a hot discussion with the General about this constructing of the British monument. At first, the General refused this idea but, after listening to my commander's suggestion, the General agreed. The General



Photograph taken by Kevin Patience in May 1980 illustrating the layout of the bridge and temple constructed on the northern side of the MacRitchie Reservoir.

had on his mind to use this matter for propaganda purposes. He planned to take films of this monument and give a big write up so the people, local and in Japan, would appreciate and respect the hospitality of the Japanese military. He always had propaganda on his mind and never let a chance go. It didn't matter what the General thought, my commander was very satisfied as long as his idea of constructing the British monument was permitted. That's all he wanted and he was sure that this was the same as the British had on their minds too. He was very pleased and also the British PoWs appreciated our commander's efforts.

'Since we succeeded in getting permission for the search party, we organised two parties with special passes from the 5th Division Headquarters, signed by the General. One Japanese officer was attached to the party in case of misunderstanding. The parties found several bodies and cremated them. The ashes

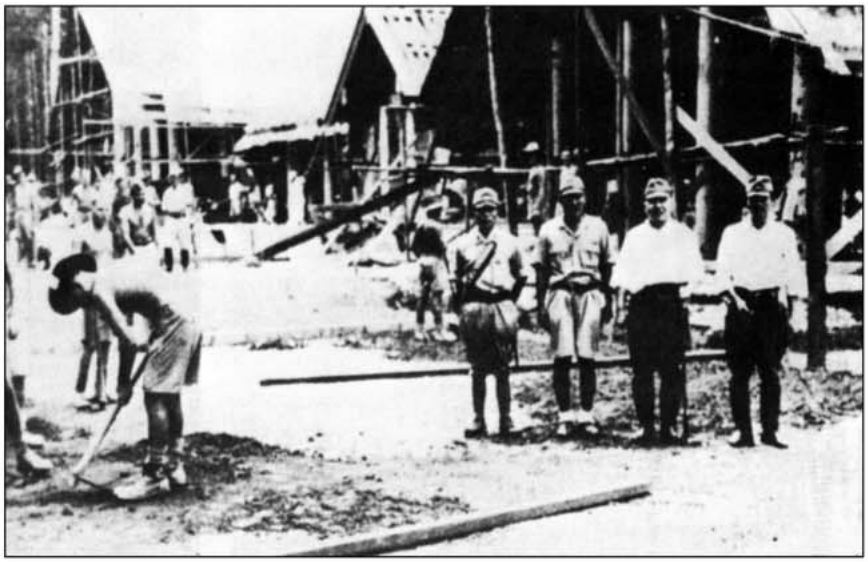
Above: **PoWs at work on the ornamental bridge. When finished the bridge was painted bright red in typical Japanese fashion (Col. Tamura via G. P. Adams).** *Below:* **Today all that remains is this granite buttress and the stumps of the piers** *(bottom).* **Part of the Sime Road Camp was located on the golf course in the background.**

were put in a small wooden box wrapped with a white cloth and placed on temporary shelves in front of the altar in a Singapore church.

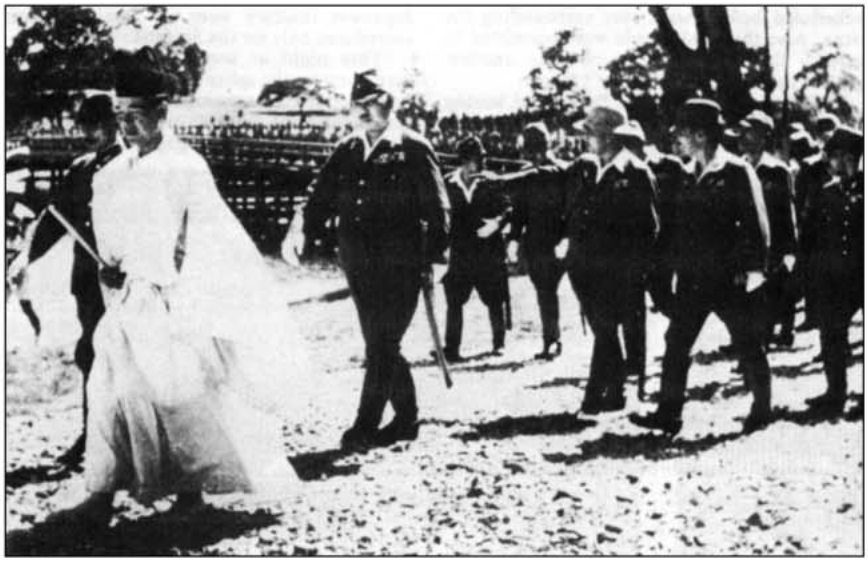
'At the Singapore airport, the construction work had been done by the British before the fall using much modern earth-moving equipment. The 5th Division Headquarters told us to see this equipment and try to make use of it on our project. I had read about the usage of this heavy equipment in my school days and saw it in operation during my travels in the United States. At that time Japan was still not acquainted with the usage of this type of heavy equipment as well as the United States was. They still stuck to the use of manpower. So when we saw this heavy equipment we knew we had no operators, only British operators. I suggested the use of PoW operators but the headquarters did not allow this because, if we let the PoWs operate it, the Japanese military would lose their face of not knowing how to operate it. The headquarters were afraid of what the local people would think when the loser could operate heavy equipment and the winner could not. (It is true that the Japanese really learned the operation and maintenance of heavy equipment after the war on the construction jobs in Okinawa on US Government projects.)

'The special roofing material for our Shinto temple was ordered from Japan by the roof-laying specialists. It was well done. The temple turned out very beautiful blending with the surrounding deep forest. It felt so sacred. The approach bridge was colourful with its shadow in the reservoir. We named the temple "Shonan Jinjya," as the city's name Singapore was changed to Shonan and the island's name to Shonan-to. It was the name of an old Japanese temple built before the war in Singapore. This old temple was located in the vicinity of Singapore and most of the Japanese who lived in Singapore before the war had their graves there. The meaning of "Shonan" meant "The Shining South". That was a good name and had the right feeling to the Japanese at that time when everything was so successful. The Japanese felt that they were the shining south and the conquerors. Everybody was very proud. All the fears and worries at the outbreak of the war disappeared. Now Japan had the south in her hands. All the raw materials what Japan had lacked, like rubber and oil, was now in her hands. So she believed the war would be in her favour and pretty soon Japan would be on the top of the world.

'As for the construction of the British



Above: **Major Tsugizo Hashimoto (Senior Company Commander, 5th Division Engineers, who died in 1971) and Colonel Tamura (died 1950) in the white shirts, with an interpreter and Tamura's orderly, pictured during the construction phase.** *Below:* **The completed Shrine Shonan Jinjya (Col. Tamura via G. P. Adams).**



Left: **On December 7, 1942 — exactly one year after the war had begun for the Japanese — the temple was opened. The procession has just crossed the bridge and Colonel Tamura (extreme left) leads the way along the bank of the reservoir to the steps leading up to the shrine. Although the PoWs were not allowed to attend the ceremony, Geoffrey Adams remembers clearly the impressive fly-past of over 300 aircraft.** *Right:* **The simple service of dedication (Col. Tamura via G. P. Adams).**

Left: **The gateway which led to the steps up to the temple. (Col. Tamura via G. P. Adams.) When Kevin Patience visited the site in 1980 only the plinth remained in the undergrowth. After the shrine was demolished during a hunt for reputed buried gold in the early post-war years, the whole area was abandoned to nature. It was only with the help of the Superintendent of the reservoir and his staff that a path was cut through the bush along the track to the foot of the stairs. Then dense undergrowth had to be cut back before all ninety-four steps, made of granite blocks, were revealed for the first time in thirty years** *(right).*

monument, I got together with the British officers to decide the type, material and make arrangements for the labour. The British wanted to make the monument by themselves using wood to build a fifteen-foot-tall cross. I agreed with this and gave them the material they needed. For the location of the monument, it was decided to use the same ground where the Japanese monument was to be erected but behind it. The unveiling ceremony would be the same day as the Japanese. Everything went as planned and the British were very happy. They were left alone to build their monument.

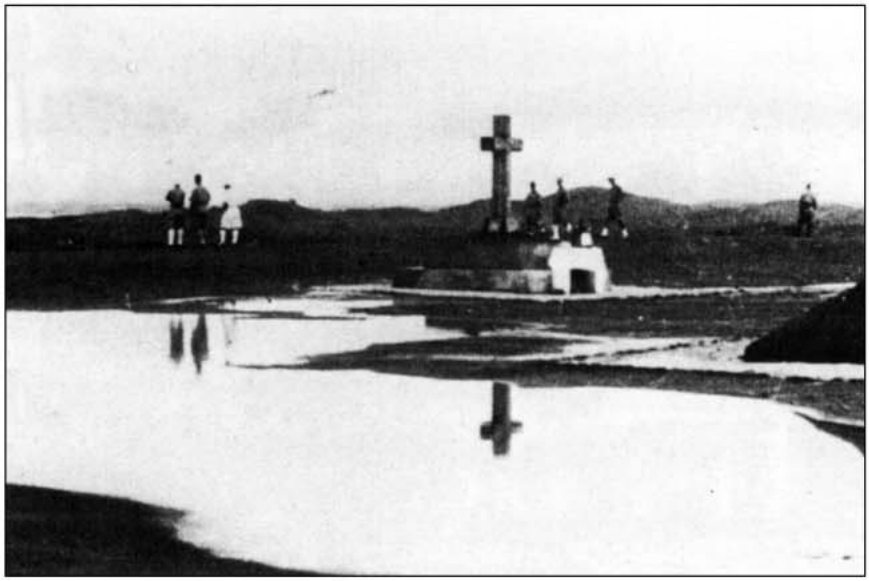
'High up in the air at Bukit Timah, the war memorial could be seen with its long, steep stairs. The monument stood straight up to the sky and its stairs looked like they were the way to heaven. The unveiling ceremony of the monument (called "Shonan Chureto") was held exactly a year after the war had begun on December 7, 1942, at ten o'clock in the morning. General Homma unveiled it and gave a speech praising our efforts and the good co-operation of the PoWs. After that we gathered in front of the British monument. It was unveiled by one of the PoW camp commanders with a speech thanking the Japanese Army. In return my commander made his speech thanking the PoWs. It was a lovely sight. Many newsmen and cameras, as scheduled beforehand, were surrounding the area. Also the local people were permitted to attend this ceremony which was another matter the headquarters didn't forget.

'After the ceremony, the PoWs held boxing matches and games with prizes. Everybody seemed to really enjoy it. Local newspapers wrote a big write up about this, the PoW monument and the PoW games. The Japanese didn't forget to let their newsmen take movies of all these events and send them back to Japan. I am sure that the local people and the Japanese in Japan really saw the great hospitality of the Japanese military.

'The opening of the temple was held the same day as the monument, at one o'clock in the afternoon. It was a short ceremony in the Shinto tradition. The local people were not allowed to attend this ceremony and only the Japanese military were. It was considered sacred and only for the Shintos.

'That night at seven o'clock we had the ceremony for the ashes of the Japanese dead to be placed in the monument. All the lights near the monument were turned out. From the Buddhist church in Singapore, the ashes of

Left: **Near the top of the steps, Kevin found this washing trough carved out of a solid piece of granite. Nearby was a large block of concrete** *(right),* **possibly a water tank base since piping was visible around the bottom.**



The two war memorials on Bukit Timah (Timah Hill). *Left:* **The PoW cross lay just a few yards behind the Japanese obelisk** *(right).* **The edge of the raised mound on which the Japanese memorial was built can be seen on the right-hand side of the photo of the British cross.**

the dead in wooden boxes were carried by their fellow comrades and they arrived by truck at the foot of the monument hill. Both sides of the long stairs were lighted by torches. After all the dead were assembled at the foot of the hill, the military band, playing the song of the "brave dead", slowly started climbing the stairs. Behind the band, the brave dead followed in four rows. The lights reflected on these white boxes of the dead. I stood at the foot and saw this scene and felt this must be the rising of the dead to heaven. It could not be expressed in words. It was a very impressive sight. Films were taken and sent back to Japan. The Japanese people seeing this would surely be proud that their dead received such a splendid ceremony.'

Over the following months, the number of prisoners steadily decreased — either from being dispersed by the Japanese on working parties for projects all over south-east Asia, especially the Burma-Thailand railway *(see After the Battle No. 26)*, sickness or death. In May 1943, the Japanese decided to convert part of Changi into an aerodrome utilising the PoW labour which was immediately to hand.

In order that work could commence, all the prisoners were cleared from the northern and eastern parts of the camp and concentrated at Selarang.

Work began in September using a ground levelling party of 800 men which was expanded until every able-bodied man was included. Because a large part of the area designated for the airstrip was low-lying swamp, spoil was cut from the higher ground, loaded into wagons and pushed along a network of narrow-guage railway lines to be dumped as infill. By May 1944, work on the two intersecting runways was so advanced that the Japanese needed both Roberts and Selarang Barracks for their own use and the PoWs were moved to Changi jail.

The jail, originally built for 600 prisoners had, since the surrender, been occupied by 3,500 men, woman and children internees. These civilians were moved out and their places taken by 12,000 PoWs. Some 5,000 were concentrated in the actual jail building while the remainder had to build themselves makeshift shelters in the courtyard.

The Japanese were able to begin using the airfield late in 1944, but it was too late to offset the tide of war sweeping against them. Although the unconditional surrender of Japan was announced on August 15, 1945, it was not until the 28th that Allied aircraft dropped leaflets over Changi ordering the Japanese to lay down their arms but to continue to care for the prisoners. Some medical officers were parachuted in on August 30 and on September 5 troops of the 5th Indian Division arrived to re-occupy Changi and take the Japanese into custody.

Today the top of Bukit Timah is crowned by a memorial to another age — a television transmitting mast!

SINGAPORE 1980

BY KEVIN PATIENCE

Above: Named after Sir Stamford Raffles of the British East India Company who landed on the island on January 29, 1819, this is one of the world's most famous hotels. With its vast roofed-over verandah, it was certainly the most luxurious in pre-war Singapore. The ambulance in the photo (taken in 1945, a few weeks after the Japanese surrender), is not an ex-Nazi vehicle but one belonging to a Chinese relief organisation — the World Red Swastika Society (IWM). *Below:* Photographed from a window of the Singapore Volunteer Forces HQ.

Left: **The 'Piccadilly Circus' of Singapore is Raffles Place where Robinsons department store (on the left in photo) was more of an institution than a shop. In the surprise Japanese raid at dawn on December 8, 1941, Robinsons new air-conditioned restaurant received a direct hit (IWM).** *Right:* **Unfortunately today Robinsons is no more — demolished in 1973 after a disastrous fire.**

Singapore today is a city far removed from the dark days of 1942 and, in the intervening period, it has been developed tremendously. However, despite the massive re-construction programmes, enough material is left to make a 'then' and 'now' comparison. The Singapore Tourist Promotion Board were extremely helpful in this research and to them I owe a debt of gratitude for obtaining the necessary clearances to enable me to visit various restricted areas.

Probably the highlight of any visit to Singapore is a stay in Raffles Hotel, long praised by its numerous patrons over the years. Raffles remained in business to the end and after the British surrender was the residence of officers of the Japanese High Command. On cessation of hostilities, it became a rehabilitation centre for inmates from the internment camps in Malaya, Indonesia and Singapore but, by 1946, business was back to normal. The comparison photograph of the hotel was made possible by the help of the Singapore Volunteer Forces whose headquarters building stands opposite.

During the weeks before surrender, many famous buildings were damaged in the bombing including Robinsons, the department store. After the war most of the damage was repaired and, while some of the comparison photos were easy enough to match up, others were impossible as in some cases the whole street has disappeared being replaced by large high-rise buildings with landscaped surrounds.

Two hospitals deserve mention: The National Hospital which suffered damage and which had a memorial cross in the grounds commemorating 107 soldiers and 300 civilians killed during the bombing, and the former Alexandra Military Hospital scene of the massacre of some of the patients and staff by the Japanese who claimed sniper fire was coming from the buildings.

Of the massive fortifications around the coast, very little remains today. Fort Johore at Changi and Buona Vista near the city which housed the 15-inch guns have completely disappeared. Fort Johore was demolished to make way for the new international airport, now being constructed on the former RAF base at Changi and due to open in 1981, and Buona Vista is now a housing estate. However Fort Labrador, a former twin 6-inch gun battery, remains having been incorporated into a park overlooking the harbour. Scattered around the island are occasional machine gun or searchlight emplacements but most of these, as in the case of the three near Changi creek, have been turned into storehouses.

Lying just offshore, guarding the approaches to Keppel Harbour, is Sentosa Island — once named Pulau Blakang Mati but changed when the island was developed as a tourist resort and museum in 1972. The island was fortified in the late 1880s with two major forts, Connaught and Siloso, equipped with 7-inch rifled, muzzle-loading bottle guns. In 1912, two 6-inch breech-loading guns were

'Beneath this cross lie 107 British soldiers and 300 civilians of many races who perished in captivity in February 1942.' So reads the inscription on the memorial cross in the grounds of the National Hospital.

Left: **Muslims parade on September 22, 1945 celebrating the British return to Singapore (IWM).** *Right:* **Thirty-five years later Selegie Street shows the characteristic changes which have taken place — the building is now occupied by the Chung Khiaw Bank.**

THE SURRENDER

'I was very conscious that this was the greatest day of my life.'

That was how Lord Louis Mountbatten described that momentous day — September 12, 1945. It was an emotional day for Lord Mountbatten and these words written in his diary echoed the drama of great historical importance enacted at the Municipal Council Chamber for the signing of the Japanese Surrender Document.

'I felt like some actor taking the cue at the climax of a great opera. For to receive the unconditional surrender of 70,000 enemy soldiers, sailors and airmen must have been an event that happens to few people. I was very conscious that this was the greatest day of my life. And every one appeared to have an electric feeling during the day.'

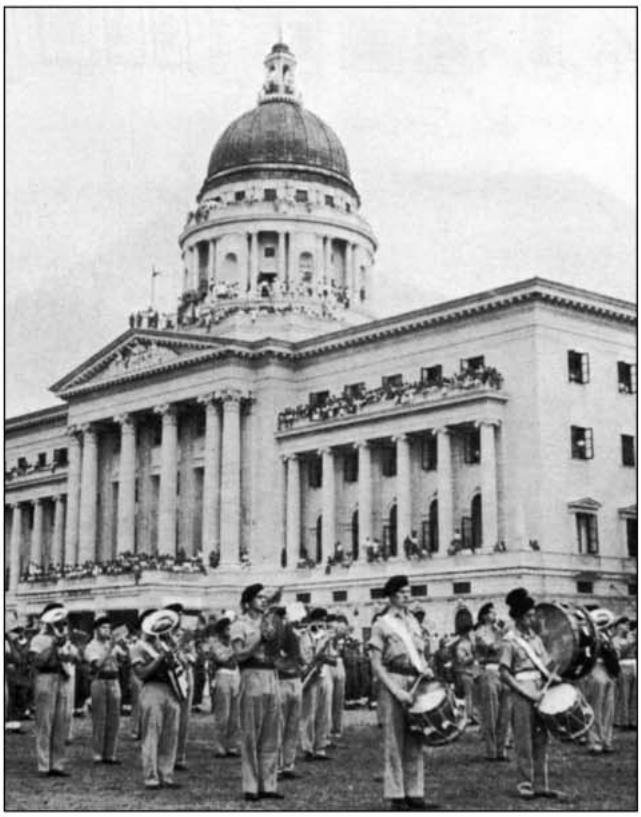
It was an emotional day, too, for the people of Singapore and for the representatives of Malayan communities, dignitaries, government officials and ranking military personnel gathered to witness the surrender. Inside the council chamber, the buzz of conversation died down when the Japanese delegation walked in. The leader of the delegation, General Seishiro Itagaki, sat at the centre of the table while the rest of the delegation were seated either side of him. The hum of the excited crowd stopped abruptly when Lord Mountbatten, in his capacity as the Supreme Commander of the South East Asia Command, walked in and took his presiding place on a raised dais at the centre of the Allied delegation. The two parties were seated at tables six feet apart and facing each other. Behind them were armed guards representing the Allied Nations — a Dutch, British and French sailor and a soldier from Australia, India, China, America and Britain. On the marble pillars behind the guards hung the flags of the United States of America, Great Britain, China, France, Australia, Holland and others. As soon as he was seated, Lord Mountbatten promptly settled down to the task at hand.

'I have come here today to receive the formal surrender of all Japanese forces within the South East Asia Command. I wish to make this plain: the surrender today is no negotiated surrender. The Japanese are submitting to superior forces, now massed here.'

General Itagaki then proceeded to present his credentials — his authorisation to sign the surrender of the Japanese forces as the representative of Field-Marshal Count Terauchi who was unable to be present due to the effects of a stroke.

A Japanese fatigue party tidies up the padang — the green in front of the Municipal Building where the surrender was signed — while troops rehearse for the parade (IWM).

Above left: September 12, 1945 — 1,000 days after the invasion — the Japanese delegation enters the Municipal Building (US Army). *Above right:* General Itagaki, CG of the 7th Area Army (hanged on December 23, 1948 for war crimes), signs the documents (US Army). *Below:* The surrender scene as preserved in wax in the Fort Siloso Museum.



The Instrument of Surrender was then read aloud by Lord Louis Mountbatten at a hurried pace. After he had finished, Major-General Penney placed eleven copies of the Surrender Document before General Itagaki. From a pocket General Itagaki took out his spectacles and put them on. He then proceeded to sign each copy three times. Once with his pen in blue, his name and rank on behalf of the Supreme Commander, Japanese Expeditionary Forces, Southern Regions; the next two, with vermilion coloured wax. The first, the seal of the Japanese Army, and the second, his own personal seal. By contrast, as Major-General Penney handed each copy to him, Lord Mountbatten signed them briskly, using a different pen each time. As each copy was signed, they were laid out in a lengthening line on the table to Lord Mountbatten's left. The signing over, Lord Mountbatten looked across at the Japanese delegation and called on them to withdraw. They stood, bowed and shuffled out. In all, the signing had taken nine minutes.

(Fort Siloso Museum.)

After the surrender was signed and the Japanese representatives marched away, Lord Mountbatten read his Order of the Day from the steps of the building. The Royal Marines band played the National Anthem *(top left)* and the Allied Supremo then led in three cheers for the King *(top right)* (IWM). *Above:* In May 1980, Kevin found the Municipal Green at peace — the hallowed ground of the Cricket Club in the background. The Municipal Building is now the location of the Singapore Supreme Court.

installed at Siloso which, by 1939, included a 12-pdr quick-firing gun at Siloso Point. Other defences there included searchlight and machine gun posts. Meanwhile, Fort Connaught had also been re-armed with three 9.2-inch naval guns in separate emplacements facing seawards. On February 13, 1942, the island came under heavy air attack with many buildings being damaged or destroyed. The following day, the 9.2-inch guns were turned landwards and shelled Tengah airfield. However, most of the ammunition was armour-piercing and had little effect and, by 6.00 p.m. on the 15th, news of the surrender was received and the guns were disabled and the 12-pdr thrown over the cliffs.

The Japanese report on the defences recorded shortly after the surrender (reproduced earlier) noted that the guns were scrapped but, in fact, one 9.2-inch gun was left in situ, the other two having fallen out of their emplacements and been left amidst the rubble. Two of these were later discovered and remounted in 1972 in the 6-inch emplacements at Fort Siloso. Of the three emplacements, two now have small bungalows built on them while the third remains very much as it was, partly hidden in the dense undergrowth, complete with magazine and ranging tower, but in restricted grounds.

Since the opening of the museum on the island, a number of old artillery pieces dating back to the 1860s are on display including 13-inch mortars, 64-pdr bottle guns, two 1940-vintage 25-pdr field guns and a pair of Japanese 140mm naval guns, once mounted overlooking the Johore Strait. A recent discovery in the Mandai forest area near Seletar was four Japanese 120mm naval guns and their mountings set up in 1944, possibly in conjunction with two mentioned previously. These are now undergoing restoration and will be mounted in the Fort in due course. Also on display are a DC3/Dakota, a Hawker Hunter and DH Sea Vixen and there are plans to include further aircraft.

The centre-piece of the museum's display is a waxworks reconstruction of the Japanese surrender which took place in the Municipal Building in September 1945. A spoken commentary re-enacts the nine minutes it took the Japanese delegates, under General Itagaki, to sign the numerous documents concluding hostilities at the end of World War II. Around the walls are photographs depicting the Pacific campaign and a replica of the table upon which Lieutenant-General Percival signed the Allied surrender on February 15, 1942 in the Ford factory boardroom at Bukit Timah.

A comparison of the famous photograph showing Lieutenant-General Percival, accompanied by Colonel Sugita, walking up to the Ford Works was easier than anticipated since the factory stands in a valley and the hills and trees easily pin-pointed the position on the approach road.

On the hill behind the factory the PoWs, under Japanese direction, built the Shonan Chureto Memorial to honour those killed in the campaign. Behind this monument stood the wooden cross, mounted in a concrete base, built by the PoWs to commemorate their own dead. Leading up to the memorial from the Bukit Timah road was a large flight of steps. Today these steps are all that remain of either memorial since they were both demolished after the war — the site being now occupied by a TV relay station.

Not far from Seletar is the Japanese cemetery containing several graves of interest including that of Field-Marshal Terauchi, C-in-C Southern Army, who, at the time of the Japanese surrender, had suffered a stroke in Saigon but flew to Singapore to present his family sword to Lord Mountbatten. He died shortly afterwards. Two others mark the last resting place of the ashes of 135 Japanese executed at Changi jail for war crimes in Malaya and Singapore and the ashes of the

Relic of another surrender three years earlier. *Above:* **The table on which the British surrender to the Japanese was signed on February 15, 1942 was taken to Australia in 1946 and is now displayed in the Australian War Memorial in Canberra City (AWM). That on display at Fort Siloso is a replica** *(below).*

The Ford factory where the surrender was signed as it appears today.

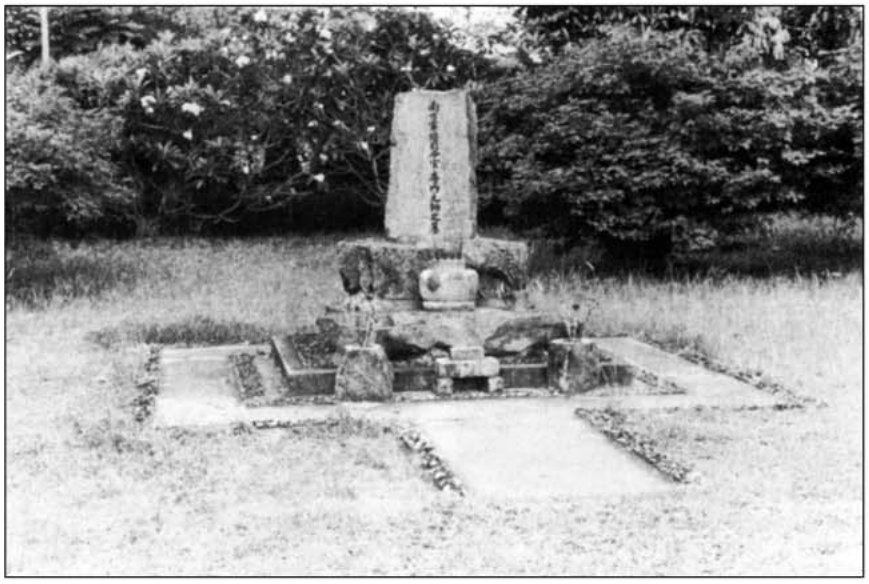
10,000 Japanese PoWs who, allegedly, died from sickness and suicides after the war.

In the centre of the island lies MacRitchie Reservoir, where the Shinto temple Shonan Jinjya and a large wooden bridge were constructed. Both were demolished after the war, but the stumps of the bridge still protrude above the water surface and a brick buttress can be seen in the undergrowth which once supported the end of the bridge leading off along the overgrown road to the shrine.

Today the forest has taken over completely and access to the site of the shrine itself involved clearing a path through dense bush. With the help of the Superintendent of the reservoir, Mr. John Lowe, and his staff, a track was cut through the bush along the old road until the steps leading up to the shrine were found. Constructed from granite blocks, the steps remain as they were and, at the top, partially hidden in the dense undergrowth, a large granite trough can be seen which was part of the washing facilities for those visiting the shrine. Cutting a path through the undergrowth was extremely arduous but proved worthwhile after a number of other remains came to light, namely large sections of concrete, brickwork and parts of the drainage system. The temple was pulled down when a story concerning buried gold bullion started an extensive search that continued until the early 1950s and in the forest near the Island Country Club stands a gravestone marking the burial place of a large number of Chinese massacred after hiding the bullion.

Opposite the site is the Singapore Golf Club in whose grounds part of the notorious Sime Road Camp was built. The camp was located in the pre-January 1942 Far East HQ of the RAF. PoWs and later the internees occupied the old RAF huts which had been extensively damaged in the fight for the reservoir. Subsequently the rolling greens of the golf club had been partially dug up to become vegetable gardens but today all is peaceful with the course once again actively in use.

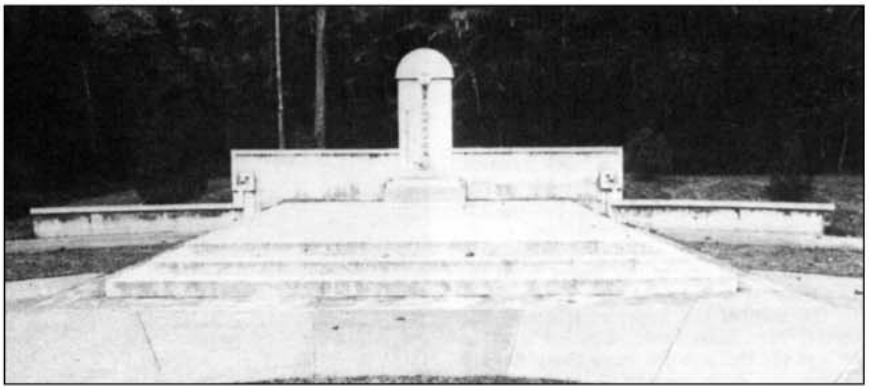
Up on a hill overlooking the reservoir lies the grave of Singapore's WWII hero, Major-General Lim Bo Seng, who died at the hands of the Kempei Tai in Malaya on June 29, 1944, having been engaged in resistance activities with Force 136 since early 1943. He was reinterred with full military honours on January 13, 1946.



In view of the indisposition of the Japanese C-in-C of the Southern Army, General Itagaki signed the surrender instead of Field-Marshal Count Hisaichi Terauchi who had suffered a stroke. When Terauchi died on June 12, 1946 in his quarters at Johore Bahru, his ashes were interred in the Japanese cemetery in Singapore. This is his grave.

In the same cemetery lie two other interesting graves. That on the *left* marks the burial place of the cremated remains of some 10,000-odd Japanese serviceman who either committed suicide at the end of the war, died of illness or were the victims of unofficial executions during a period when many old scores were settled.

The photo *right* shows the marker on the burial place of the ashes of the 135 Japanese officially executed in Changi jail for war crimes — an unusual departure from the policy of secrecy adopted by the Allies for the disposal of the remains of the Germans executed at Nuremberg.

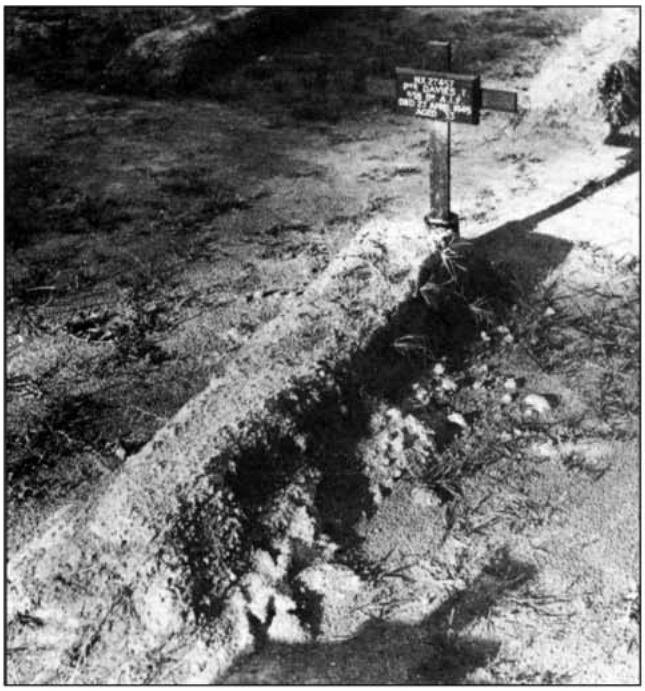


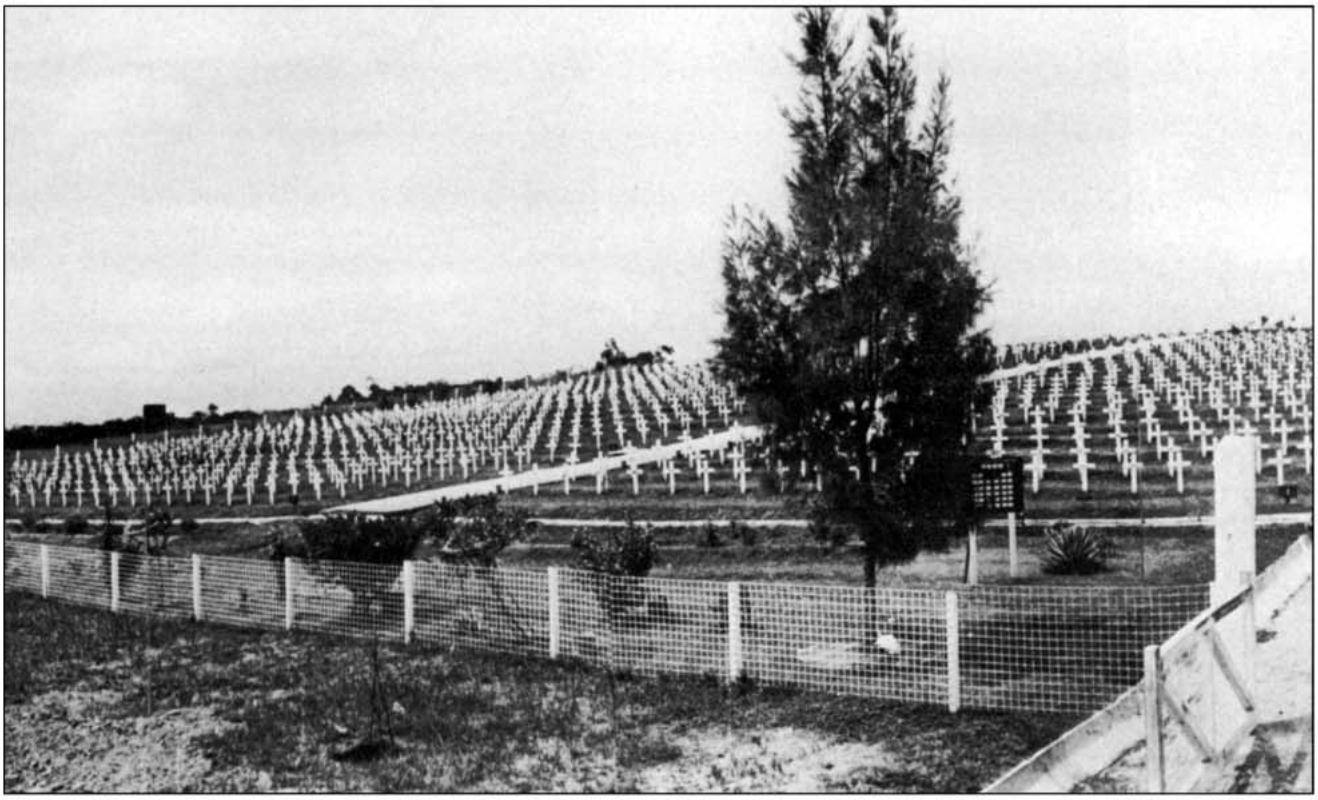
Two graves of interest in the MacRitchie Reservoir area. *Left:* Hidden in the nearby forest is this grave of Chinese reputedly 'bumped off' after burying gold bullion in the area. *Right:* The tomb of General Lim Bo Seng tortured to death by the Kempei Tai — the notorious Japanese Army's Military Police.

On the north coast of the island stands Sembawang Shipyard, formerly the Royal Navy dockyard, built at incredible expense to enable the largest of the pre-war battleships to be drydocked and repaired. It was from here that HMS *Repulse* and the *Prince of Wales* sailed on December 8, 1941 only to be sunk two days later off the Malayan coast. On July 30, 1945, a Royal Navy Craft Submarine *XE-3* made a successful attack on the Japanese 10,000-ton cruiser *Takao* and Lieutenant Fraser and Leading Seaman Magennis were awarded the Victoria Cross. Today the shipyard has expanded with a dry dock capable of handling 500,000-ton tankers and facilities to cope with any type of ship repair.

Further along the Johore Strait lies the causeway linking Singapore to the mainland, with a length of 1,100 yards and a width of 26ft, opened in June 1924. After the retreat from Malaya, a 180-foot gap was blown in the causeway — an operation which proved of little use since the Japanese could wade across the breach at low tide. The invasion by the 5th and 18th Divisions of the Twenty-Fifth Army took place to the west of the causeway with the Japanese using the Johore Palace tower as a lookout. In the post-war period, the causeway was widened and, in 1976, a multi-million pound project was completed bringing the whole complex up to date, altering the causeway completely so that today no sign of the breach remains to be seen.

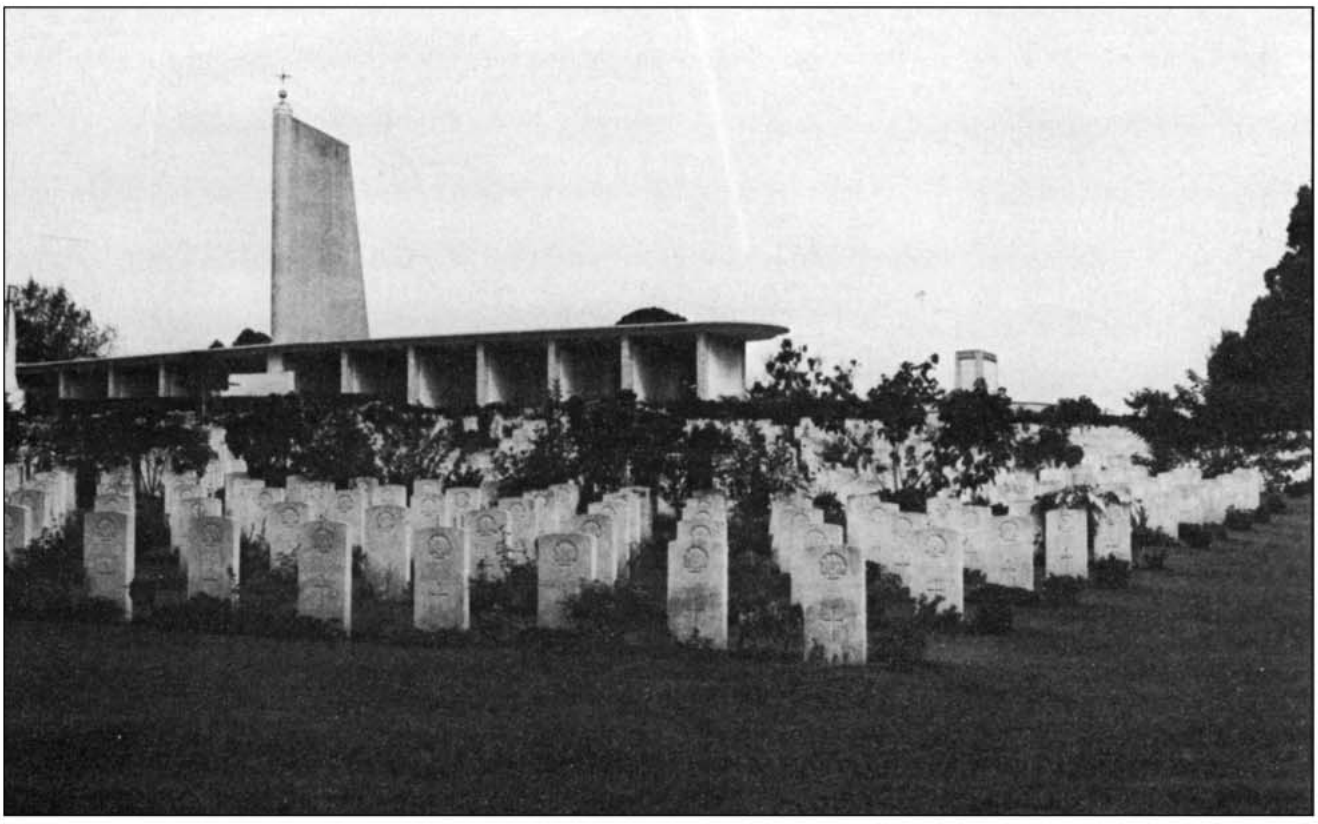
Above: Changi Cemetery was located near the Johore Battery which overlooked Changi aerodrome. Most of the dead buried here were from a camp hospital established by the Australian Infantry Force. In 1946, with the impending expansion of the aerodrome, all the remains were exhumed by the Army Graves Service for reburial in Kranji War Cemetery (IWM). *Below:* Illustrative of this transfer operation are these pictures of the two graves of Private Trevor Davies of the 2/18 Infantry Battalion, AIF.





A short distance away lies Kranji cemetery and the Singapore Memorial overlooking the Straits where, before the war, a military camp and ammunition magazine once stood. After the surrender in 1942, a PoW camp and hospital was set up and the cemetery was started by the inmates. This was expanded after the war by the Army Graves Service with the addition of other burials from all parts of the island and it was finally laid out in its present form by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. The Singapore Memorial, with its aerofoil layout, dominates the skyline and on its panels are recorded the names of 24,346 men and women who have no known grave. Around it are other memorials to the casualties of the Malayan campaign buried elsewhere, including those buried in the grounds of the National Hospital as well as the Chinese members of the Commonwealth forces massacred during the occupation. An Indian Memorial commemorates those accorded the last rites of cremation. There are 4,498 individual burials marked by headstones laid out in a smooth lawn surrounded by evergreen and flowering shrubs and trees.

Kranji War Cemetery, Singapore. *Above:* **Picture taken in 1949 during the period of concentration of graves from other burial places on the island. During the next decade, the entire remains from Saigon Military Cemetery in French Indo-China were transferred here as maintenance in perpetuity could not be assured (CWGC).** *Below:* **The cemetery today. The large oval-shaped memorial honours men of both land and air force serving in South-East Asia and the Pacific who have no known grave.**



HF
N5641

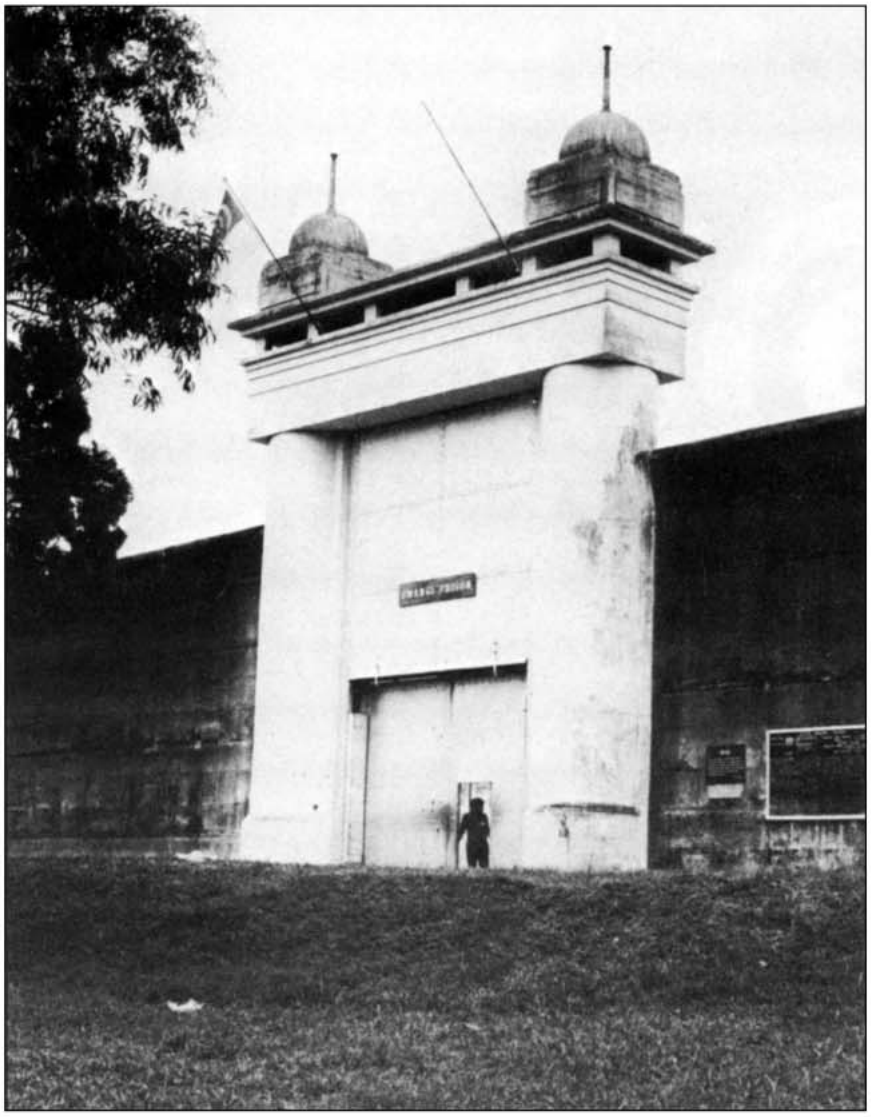
Above: **September 5, 1945 — the hour of liberation for the Allied prisoners in Changi gaol who came swarming out of the huge entrance (Illustrated London News).** *Below:* **The entrance to the prison in May 1980 — visitors had just gone inside. No comparison photographs were possible inside except in the old hospital ward which was converted into a memorial chapel in 1953.**

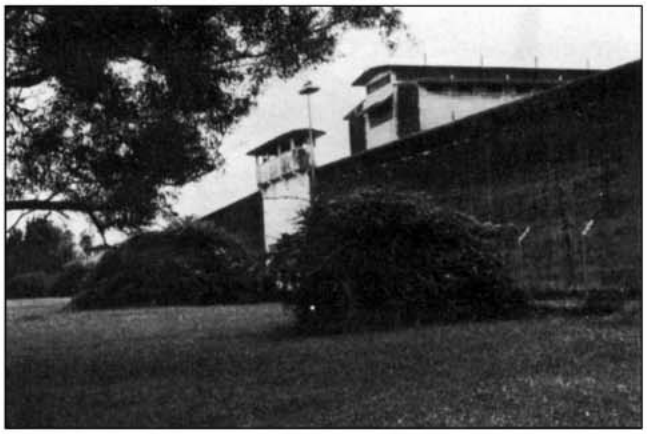
The area known as Changi comprises a number of well-known, if not infamous, names. The jail itself, built in 1936 to house 600 prisoners, saw European civilians incarcerated there for two years before they were replaced by the PoWs moved in from Selarang Barracks. The civilians were transferred to the Sime Road Camp. The jail was used after the war to house Japanese PoWs and later it returned to its present role — that of a top security prison. However, access to the prison and chapel is possible and many PoWs and civilians return to see the buildings where they spent much of their youth. The chapel, surrounded by cell blocks and steel fencing, was converted from the old hospital ward and dedicated on August 9, 1953 and it is a quiet place of worship in strong contrast to the view outside. Around the walls hang numerous plaques and a number of photographs depicting the Selarang Barracks incident. Much of the interior furniture and fittings were provided by Commonwealth Associations in remembrance of those who died there and were buried in the cemetery near the Johore Battery. These buried remains were later reinterred at Kranji Cemetery. Tight security prevented photographs being taken inside but, with the help of the Assistant Superintendent, an external comparison was possible although not exact due to the trees and bushes which have now grown up beside the road. The prison has changed little in the intervening period and the entrance still presents a formidable picture.

Not far up the road stands Selarang Barracks now occupied by the Singapore Armed Forces. Through the Tourist Board, permission was granted to match the wartime photographs with the stipulation that the negatives be first passed for clearance. The scene has changed little and the barracks and square appear to have stood still in time. All the buildings have a large 1937 carved on them, that being the year of completion of a large building programme around the island. Taking the comparison photographs was comparatively simple and raised thoughts of the incredible risks taken by the person who took the well-known 'Incident' photographs.

The former RAF station at Changi is now undergoing vast changes with the building of the new airport. A number of buildings built by the PoWs still exist but no doubt with the present expansion these will all be demolished.

In Block 151, within the Singapore Air Force Camp, are the Changi murals painted by Bombadier Stanley Warren in a room

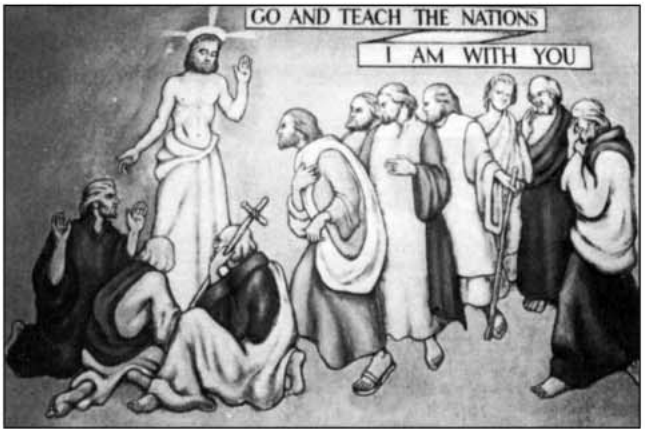




which was formerly a chapel. There were originally five, of which only 3¼ remain. The rest were destroyed when the Japanese re-occupied the buildings in 1944. After the war, the murals were painted over and the room used as a store. Some time in the late 1950s, the paintings were rediscovered and, through the national press, Stanley Warren was traced and he returned to restore the three complete ones. The remaining quarter remains as discovered. Two of the murals measure approximately 12ft x 7ft and the third 10ft x 7ft. Judging by the visitors' book, the murals appear to be of major interest to visitors to Singapore.

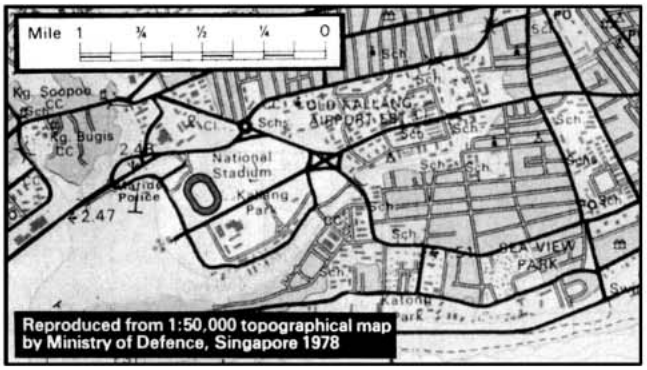
Of the numerous other prisoner-of-war camps around the island, no trace remains since many were no more than barbed-wire enclosures. With the tremendous expansion and growth of Singapore in recent years, there has been an increased interest in the WWII history of the island and many books have been written on the subject. However, for those who were there and who return, only a few places remain undisturbed by the march of progress.

Left: **A convoy of released prisoners passes the jail en route for a hospital ship . . . and home (IWM).** *Right:* **An exact comparison is not quite possible today because of a new fence built along the edge of the road. This is Kevin's picture with the road behind him.** *Below:* **The Changi Prison Memorial Chapel.**

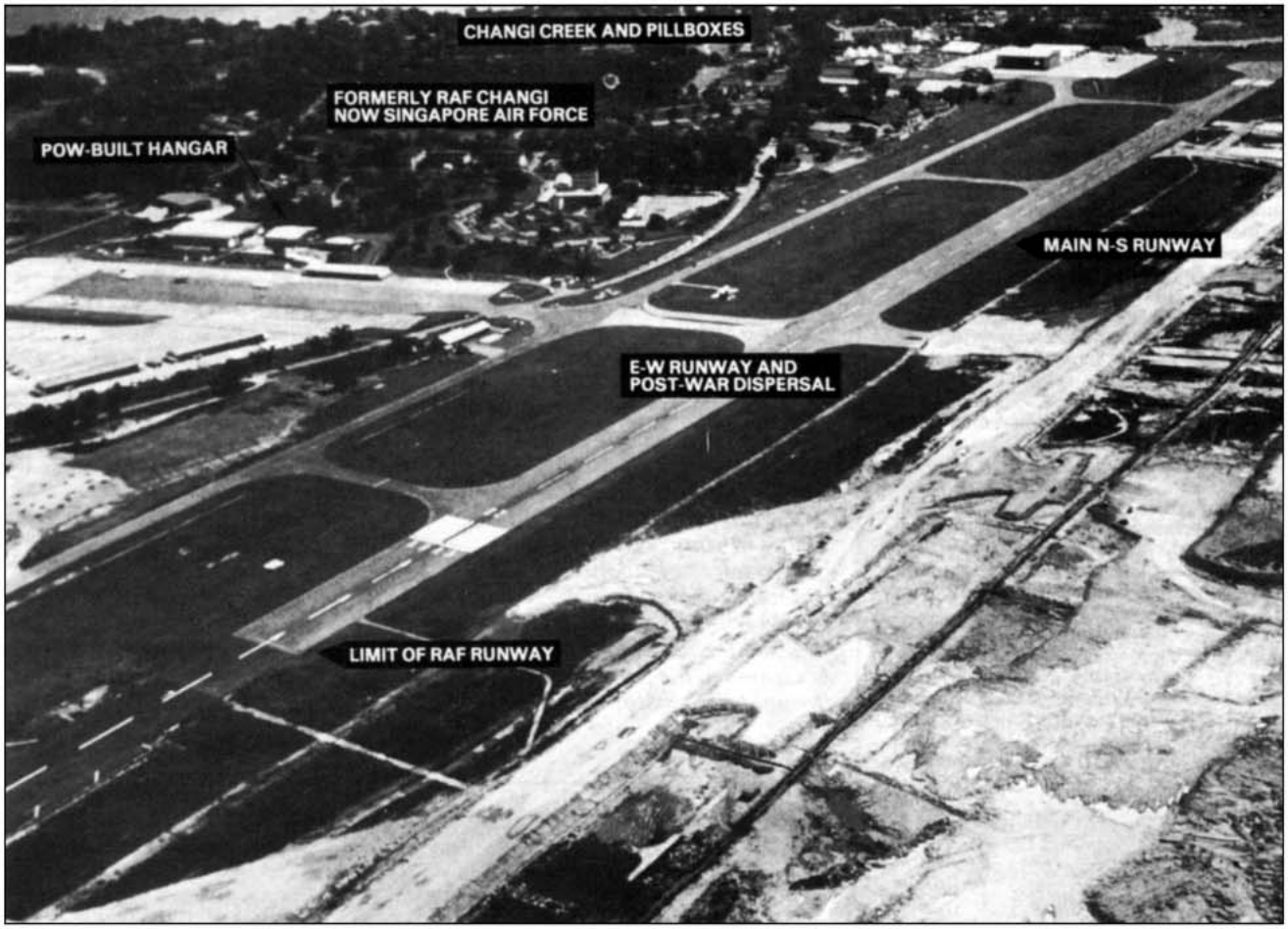


The murals in Barrack Block 151 in the Singapore Air Force Camp at Changi, formerly a chapel used by PoWs. The wartime artist, Bombadier Stanley Warren, returned to restore three of the paintings after the war but one *(below)* **has been left in its original condition. He had painted a fifth picture but it was destroyed when the Japanese knocked two doors in the walls.**

A good guide to a nation's prosperity can often be seen through the growth of its airports and nowhere is this better illustrated than at Singapore. The island, just 25 miles by 15 miles, began the war with four aerodromes: Kallang, close by the city and port; Tengah on the west side of the island; Sembawang near the naval base on the north coast and Seletar. During the war the Japanese also built an airfield with two earth-surfaced runways at Changi using PoW labour. When the RAF returned to Singapore they first began operations at Kalling, *photo above,* (now converted into a housing and sports area — see map *below*) but very soon the heavy usage began to break up the makeshift runway the Japanese had laid across the former grass airfield. Early in 1946, Japanese prisoners were detailed to lay pierced steel planking on the E-W strip at Changi as a temporary expedient to allow operations to begin there in April. As Kallang was equally unsuitable for civilian operations, a new location for a civil airport was chosen on a virgin site at Paya Lebar in the west-central part of the island. Although Changi had been rejected as a site for the new civilian airport because of the problem of subsidence with the swampy, reclaimed land on which the Japanese had located the airfield, the Air Ministry decided that it would however be suitable



for RAF use and work began on a new permanent runway (following the line of the Japanese N-S strip) on February 1, 1949. The new runway (constructed of flexible bitumen to counter settlement) coincided with an expansion of the associated ex-Army camp and administrative area which continued until 1956, transforming Changi into one of the most modern RAF bases. The N-S runway was extended in 1964 to allow for the use of the largest military aircraft in support of operations against insurgents in Malaya, and Changi remained in constant use until the RAF pulled out of Singapore in 1971. With the huge expansion of the Singapore economy during the last twenty years, a decision was taken by the civilian authorities to construct a new £350 million international airport at Changi using the old RAF main runway as a basis. This is due to open in 1981 with a single 4,000-metre runway and, by the time it becomes fully operational in 1983 with a second runway built on reclaimed land, it will be one of the world's best airports with both approach and landing paths over the sea. Unfortunately, the massive civil engineering works have obliterated most of the local sites associated with the Second World War and make any comparison photographs of the area meaningless.


CHANGI CREEK AND PILLBOXES
FORMERLY RAF CHANGI
NOW SINGAPORE AIR FORCE
POW-BUILT HANGAR
MAIN N-S RUNWAY
E-W RUNWAY AND
POST-WAR DISPERSAL
LIMIT OF RAF RUNWAY

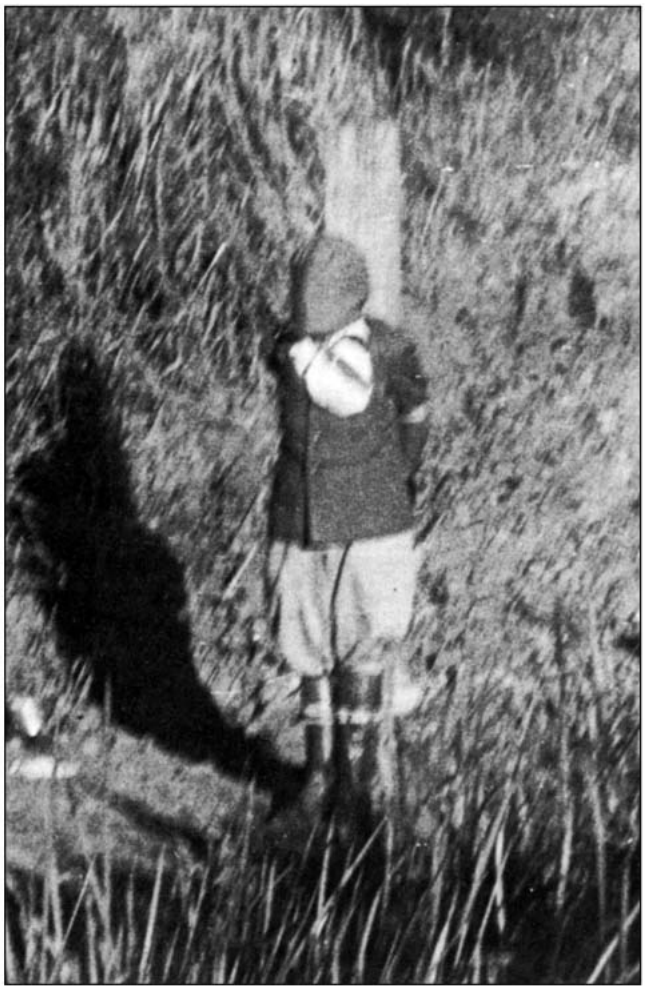
JOHORE BATTERY AND
SITE OF CHANGI CEMETERY
RECLAIMED LAND
FORMERLY SELARANG BEACH
(SEE OVERLEAF)
NEW CIVIL EXTENSION
MONSOON DRAIN

The Selarang Incident was precipitated by the escape of four servicemen, two Australians and two Britons, whom the Japanese had recaptured. On the morning that the PoWs were ordered to move to Selarang Barracks, the various senior British commanders, under Colonel E. B. Holmes, were taken to the Beting Kusha anti-aircraft practice ground beach near Selarang to witness their execution. The four men, one still in pyjamas, were lined up, three paces apart with their backs to the sea. A firing squad of four Indian Sikhs (one called Rana from the Kapurthala State Forces) faced them some fifty yards away. One of the Australians, Corporal Rodney Breavington pleaded in vain to the two Japanese present, Colonel Makimura (2 i/c to Major-General Fukuei) and Lieutenant Okasaki to shoot him only as he alone was responsible. The Indians then knelt down and, as the four men saluted, four shots rang out. Corporal Breavington cried out that he was only wounded and called to be finished off. The others were also not dead and further shots were fired into the bodies. This poem by an unknown author bears witness to their fate. They were: Corporal Rodney Breavington, (now buried at Kranji in Plot 3, Row A, Grave 2) and Private Victor Gale (Plot 2, Row E, Grave 17) both of the Australian Army Ordnance Corps; Private Harold Waters, 2nd Battalion East Surrey Regiment and Private Eric Fletcher, RAOC, now buried side by side in Graves 4 and 5 in Row D of Plot 10.

THE CORPORAL AND HIS PAL

He stood, a dauntless figure
Prepared to meet his fate,
Upon his lips a kindly smile,
One arm about his mate,
His free hand held a picture
Of the one he loved most dear,
And though the hand was trembling
It was not caused by fear.
No braver man e'er faced his death
Before a firing squad
Than stood that day upon the square
And placed his trust in God.
He drew himself up proudly
And faced the leering foe.
His rugged face grew stern: "I ask
One favour ere I go.
Grant unto me this last request
That's in your power to give,
For myself I ask no mercy
But let my comrade live."
Then turning to the guardhouse
Where his sad-faced Colonel stands
A witness to his pending fate
Brought here by Jap command.
He stiffened to attention
His hand swings up on high
To hat brim, in a swift salute,
"I'm ready now to die."
They murdered him in hatred
Prolonged his tortured end
In spite of all his pleadings
They turned and shot his friend.
They said he was example
Of what they had in store
For others who attempt escape
Whilst Prisoners of War.
Example, yes — of how to die,
And how to meet one's fate.
Example, true — of selfless love
A man has for his mate.
And when he reaches Heaven's Gate
The Angels will be nigh,
And welcome to their midst a man
Who knew the way to die.
Whilst here below in letters gold,
The scroll of fame e'er shall
The story tell of how they died,
A Corporal and his Pal.

Anon.



After the war, Major-General Shempei Fukuei, the PoW overlord in Singapore, was brought to justice for the crime. He was found guilty and, on April 27, 1946, taken to the same spot where he had ordered the execution. Fukuei died instantaneously after shouting the obligatory: 'Banzai!' ('Ten Thousand Years!' — an oblique reference to the longevity of the Emperor). Ten Australian servicemen were witnesses to his death. Today Selarang Beach has been lost in the expansion of the new airport, but we hope visitors flying into Singapore in years to come will still spare a thought as they pass over the site where five men died violent deaths.

NAZI GOLD

Above: **By May 1945 southern Germany was in chaos with Axis forces surrendering in droves. Here T/4 Leibowitz of the US Signal Corps photographs Hungarian troops rounded up in the Kurpark in Garmisch-Partenkirchen (US Army). Garmisch was to become a paradise for the occupying forces and the centre of a mystery which has remained unsolved for thirty-five years.** *Below:* **Transformation in August 1979.**

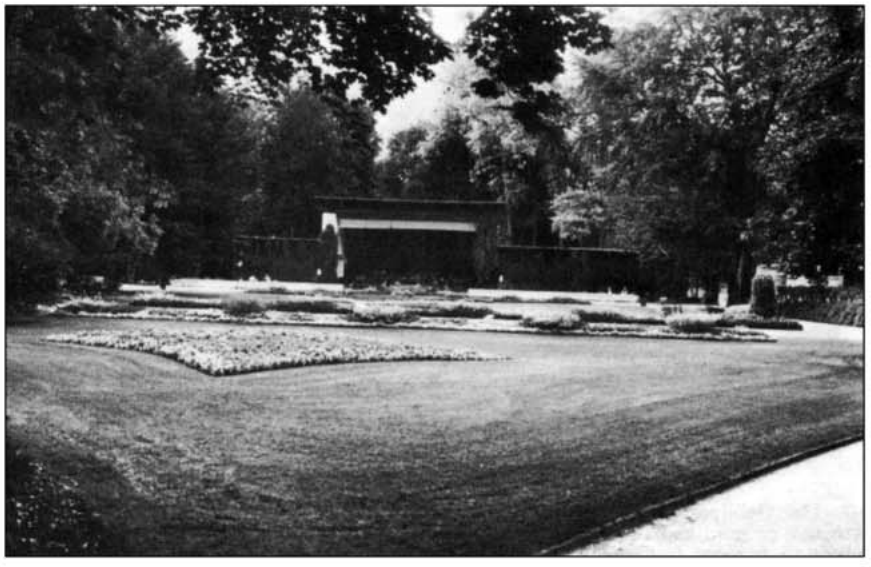
October 1955 saw the publication of the first edition of the *Guinness Book of Records,* a book currently available in twenty-three different languages and which has now even succeeded in securing a record entry in its own right.

In the 1956 edition, the compilers stated that the largest robbery ever was that of the German National Gold Reserves by a combine of United States military personnel and German civilians in Bavaria in June 1945. The fact that none of those responsible had been brought to trial made the entry even more interesting and, in August 1974, we wrote to the Editor, Norris McWhirter, to ask for the basis of his entry. He replied that his source was the book *Gold is Where You Hide It* by W. Stanley Moss Published by Andre Deutsch in 1956.

After obtaining a copy of the book (now out of print), it was immediately obvious that it was the basis for an excellent story in *After the Battle.* The book describes how the author first heard about the theft while staying in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in the Bavarian Alps close to the Austrian border in the winter of 1952-53. Stanley Moss recalled in his Preface to the book that, 'It had all started as dinner-table gossip. Vast sums of money, we were told, said to represent the entire Reichsbank and Abwehr reserves allocated for the continuation of German resistance in the Bavarian alps, had mysteriously disappeared soon after the district was over-run by the invading American forces. A considerable bulk of these funds had actually been concealed in the grounds of the villa next door — the property of the aristocratic von Heinrichstein family — and our informants (who were residents of Garmisch) could well remember the strange goings-on which had attended both its burial and disinterment. Strange, we decided, was not the word for it; the story was fantastic. In a nutshell, we were given to understand that none of the money in question had ever reached rightful or honest hands, whether German or American. Such chit-chat, however improbable it may have sounded, could scarcely have failed to intrigue us, and we sat up till all hours before a crackling peat-and-log fire discussing and speculating upon it.'

The book then describes how he and a friend, Andrew Kennedy, became involved in a fascinating investigation to try to discover what had really happened to the 728 gold bars (weighing just over nine tons) that the official history of the US 10th Armored Division states were recovered but which, it seemed, never reached the official vaults in Washington or Bonn. The author's account of their journeys throughout Germany and elsewhere to try to uncover the truth makes for a gripping detective story and in the final pages even pinpoints and names the prime suspects: a Captain Mackenzie, the American Town Major of Garmisch-Partenkirchen in 1945, and the Military Governor, a Major Martin Borg, who, it was stated, had disappeared after crossing the frontier into Switzerland in February 1947.

We immediately forwarded a letter through Andre Deutsch, the publishers, to Mr. Stanley Moss, but their reply stated that he had died some years previously (later confirmed as



1965). It seemed to the Editor that the only other person who could help us follow up the story twenty years after the book was published would be Stanley's associate Andrew Kennedy and we managed to trace him to Munich.

While we planned a visit to see him in April 1975, our discussion with Norris McWhirter the previous year had led him to try to confirm the basis of his entry in the *Guinness Book of Records* with the American authorities. On January 10, 1975, the Department of the Army replied as follows:

'Concerning the alleged Reichbank robbery in 1945; if you choose to regard a newspaper report and a speculative (but interesting) book as verification of that allegation, that is of course your own decision to make.

'Nevertheless, based upon repeated research of the official records of that period occcasioned by previous inquiries over a 10 year span, United States Army archivists regard the Guinness entry as an unverified allegation. Furthermore, there is no substantiation that either a ''Captain Mackenzie'' or a ''Captain (sic) Borg'' ever served in the Army.'

In the light of this reply, Mr. McWhirter dropped the entry from the 1975 edition of the book and at the same time Andre Deutsch expressed keen interest in the outcome of our forthcoming trip to see Andrew Kennedy.

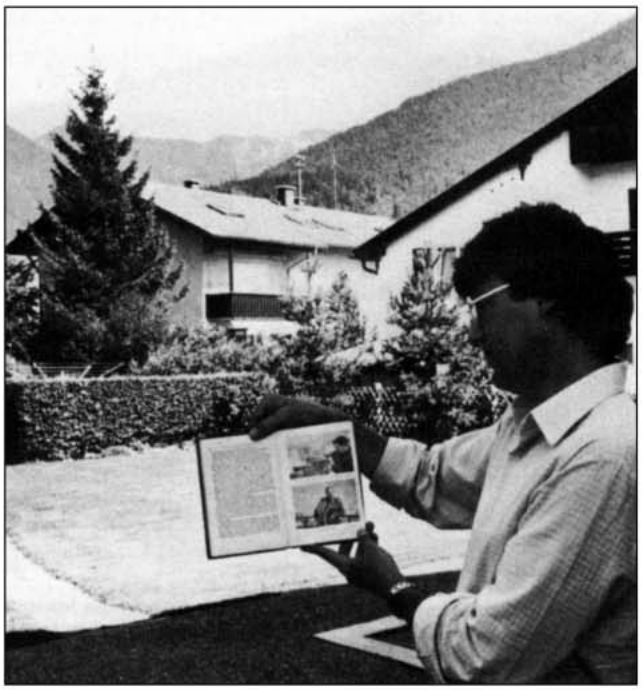
Andrew was Polish by birth although he had been naturalised British after the war. He had served as head of an escape organisation in Hungary and Poland, and later became a Major in the Special Operations Executive. Throughout the war his closest friend and companion was Christine Granville who has been described as one of the most successful women agents of World War II and is said to have been Winston Churchill's 'favourite spy'. Christine was murdered on June 15, 1952 in the hall of the Shellbourne Hotel in Kensington by a jealous lover and, when we met Andrew in Munich in April 1975, he had only shortly before 'authorised' Madeleine Masson to write Christine's biography. Andrew, being the only man who knew the inside story, had made it his business to protect Christine's name and prevent anything being written about her without his personal seal of approval. This he had withheld from several would-be biographers.

After Andrew gave us the background to his becoming involved with *Gold is Where You Hide It* he told us that Stanley Moss had tragically died an alcoholic before they had really come to grips with their final investigations and that the book had been rushed into print because of Mr. Moss's financial predicament. When we posed the question of the official US denial of the existence of Major Borg, Andrew laughed that it was only to be expected as the name was fictitious! He explained that although they were pretty certain as to what had taken place, they had not dared publish the true names of the people involved because of the difficulty in providing proof if a libel case had been brought against them. Thus, by adopting the pseudonyms of 'Captain Mackenzie', 'Major Borg' and the 'Von Heinrichstein family' for

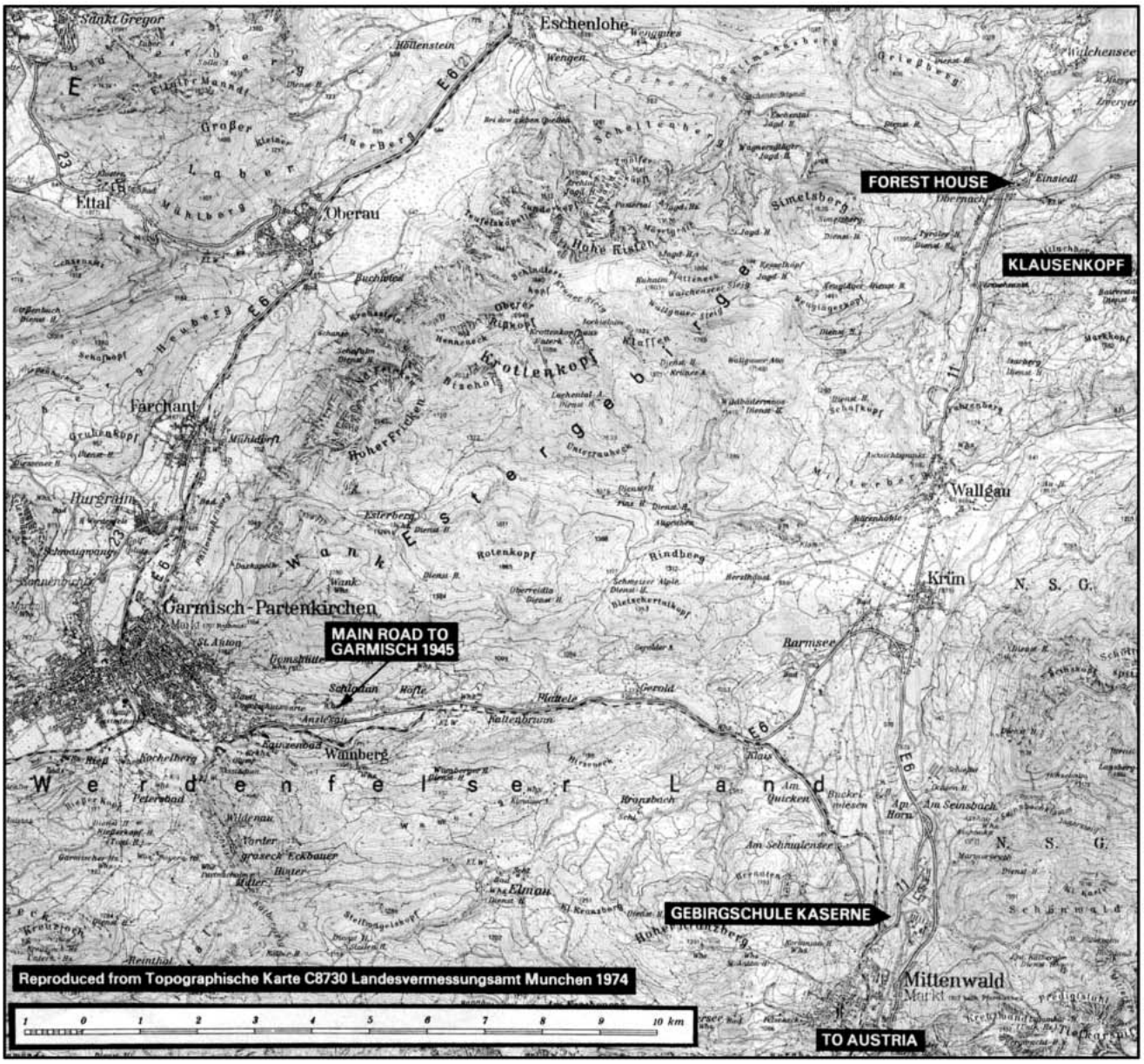
Sergeant Albert Singleton of the 10th Armored Division photographs refugees approaching the Gebirgschule Kaserne where the gold was first stored before its burial. By the time this photo was taken in July 1945, the Kaserne was a DP camp. *Below:* **What more can one say: the timelessness of the Alps.**

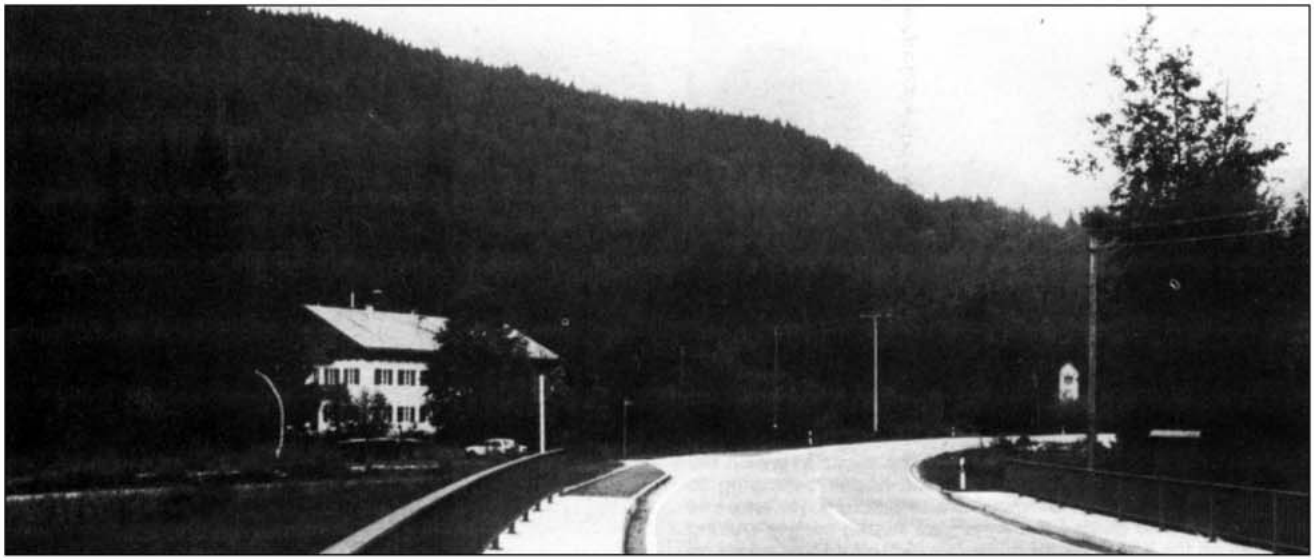
Left: **The Gebirgschule barracks beside the E6 at Mittenwald. Two bars of gold were secreted here in a stove and, after their discovery, handed into the Sparkasse Bank in Berchtesgaden**

(Sgt. Singleton). *Right:* **Entry Verboten. Today, renamed the Eidelweiss Kaserne, the barracks are under the management of a new German Army.**



Above: **W. Stanley Moss displays one of the sacks in which the bullion was wrapped in the garden of the house belonging to Josef Veit (see page 36) in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. He was one of the Germans who guided the American search parties looking for the gold on the Klausenkopf mountain. Stanley Moss came on the sack during his research for 'Gold is Where You Hide It' in 1953.** *Right:* **Another time . . . yet the same place. Ian Sayer holding Stanley's book on the same spot but twenty-six years later. We asked Herr Veit's son what had happened to the sack but, to Ian's intense disappointment, he said it had been thrown out long ago.**





The forest house at Einseidl occupied by the Neuhauser family in 1945. Their lodger, Herr Forstreicher (renamed Herr Lersch in the Moss book), watched the burial of the gold on the Klausenkopf mountain behind the house. He has since died.

the alleged culprits, they gave the US Department of the Army a ready-made let-out to discredit the book and to deny all knowledge of the robbery!

Following our return to England, although we attempted more research, the trail was stone cold and, as there were too many loose ends and unexplained events, we shelved the story.

However, after an absence of four years, the crime was again included in the 1979 edition of the *Guinness Book of Records* as the largest robbery on record. We immediately wrote to Norris McWhirter querying the re-appearance of the entry and, while we were waiting for his reply, we received a telephone call from one of our readers, Ian K. T. Sayer. It was a remarkable coincidence. He asked if we would be interested in doing a feature on the theft of the German gold reserves in 1945 and stated that he had spent several years researching the crime which he had first come across when consulting the *Guinness Book of Records!* In a remarkable similarity of events, he too had traced Andrew Kennedy (after our 1975 visit) and, inspired by some of our adventures in the magazine, had doggedly stuck at it. He said he had visited Washington in the course of his research and had spent a small fortune on the investigation.

Norris McWhirter's reply when it came confirmed that Ian Sayer's research with the help of a colleague, Harry Seaman, was the basis for the replacement of the entry in the book and we lost no time in fixing a meeting with Ian. Having the resources of his own

Above: **The 10th Armored find the gold. The two German guides are Josef Pinzl (standing) and Josef Veit (crouching). Ian had traced both men before our visit to Garmisch and we interviewed Herr Viet** *(below left)* **at his flat in Austria and Herr Pinzl** *(below)* **on his farm. A bearded Andrew Mollo shows off his fluency in German!**

transport company at hand, Ian explained that he had spent a major part of the last four years following up the implications of *Gold is Where You Hide It,* delving into records in the United States and tracing the various officers concerned in the official investigation in 1947. He had been determined not to be fobbed off with excuses or denials and reckoned his research had cost some £50,000 to date and that he had identified all those allegedly involved including the mystery 'Major Borg'. He had obtained evidence of the latter's identity from a document supplied to him from American judicial records. Although this had been doctored before its release to him by deleting the names it contained, in one place the censor had been careless and the name of the Military Governor of Garmisch-Partenkirchen under investigation had not been excised!

Ian's plan was to publish his evidence in a book and possibly a film, but he wanted to give us the opportunity to describe the background to the research in *After the Battle.* In order to present this in our usual style, the Editor made arrangements to visit Garmisch-Partenkirchen with Ian as guide to photograph all the locations featured in the story. As it was necessary to plan the visit after the snow had melted, this was fixed for August 1979.

When we arrived in the picturesque town, we found it had changed little since 1945 and was still largely an American preserve with several military recreation areas, service hotels and barracks. However, today Garmisch is bustling and prosperous with hillside chalets

Above: **June 7, 1945. Major William Geiler, Captain George Garwood and Captain Walter Dee, all of the 55th Armored Engineers Battalion of the 10th Armored Division, hold three of the 728 gold bars recovered from the mountainside (Alfred Geiffert III).**

changing hands for several million marks. Nevertheless all the buildings and locations involved in the events of 1945 remain to be seen virtually as they were at the end of the war and we spent an absorbing two days in the area.

Above left: **Tiger HQ in Garmisch in 1945. It was here that some $400,000 in American currency, recovered from a barn at Oberau, was counted by Sergeant Leroy Batson, Captain Noel Hinrichs and Captain James Knight** *(photo below). Above right:* **Today the building is occupied by the local branch of the Spielbank**

The story begins in March 1945 when the Nazi leadership was boasting about the Alpine redoubt which would become a fortress of resistance in the mountains even if the remainder of Germany was overrun. As the Allies closed on Berlin, German Reichsminister of Economics, Walter Funk, ordered that the entire reserves of gold, currency and precious stones and metals then remaining in the Reichsbank were to be dispatched under heavy escort to the Austrian frontier. At the same time the Abwehr reserves of foreign currency, both genuine and forged dollars and sterling, were directed to the village of Einsiedl on the shore of the Walchensee.

Although the eventual intended destination of the gold is not clear, what is known is that the convoy under heavy escort arrived at the Gebirgschule Kaserne just to the north of Mittenwald in mid-April 1945. Mittenwald lies about twelve kilometres east of Garmisch-Partenkirchen, almost directly on the border. From there one road leads south into Austria and another north towards the Walchensee.

Above left: **A large part of the mystery as to what really happened to the gold revolves around this building in Garmisch — the former HQ of the American Town Major or Military Governor — photographed here in December 1949 shortly before it became the US Post Exchange for the Garmisch Recreation Area for American servicemen (US Army).** *Above right:* **Garmisch-Partenkirchen remains a Recreation Area for American forces in Germany. In August 1979, Ian films the building on Bahnhofstrasse, still a PX, as part of his continuing research. The Military Governor's office, since converted into a flat, lay behind the balcony and Mr. Hungerford, the present occupant, kindly let us photograph the room as it is today** *(photo top opposite page).* **At least one of the US Military Governors was quartered at No. 88 Hauptstrasse — requisitioned for members of the Military Government. Today it is still a US billet** *(photo right)* **although renamed the Von Steuben Hotel.** *Below:* **Our comparison shot was taken on the balcony of room 336 on the left hand side showing how the hotel has been extended since the war.**

. Repeated indications were encountered uring the course of [redacted] investigations that American personnel were involved in illegal ctivities, but these were not proven by established facts.

c. Conclusion: That the allegation of the Garmisch case was ot proven by established facts as the result of investigations made, with he sole exception of the case of [redacted].

16. a. Allegation: That a group headed by [redacted] Finance Division, [redacted], was observed at first hand the lmost incredible power wielded by American conspirators and their German ssociates. They obstructed Colonel [redacted] investigation and influenced itnesses. ([redacted].

b. Facts: Colonel [redacted] testifies that no specific agency or person interferred with his investigation and does not think he made statement to this effect. (45, 46). No evidence could be found to substantiate the fact that [redacted] headed a "gang." Chief Agent [redacted]) expresses his opinion of [redacted] as follows: "While no concrete evidence exists linking him to narcotics trafficking, it is noteworthy that his name has repeatedly and persistently appeared, in other than official capacity in varied types of investigations conducted in Upper Bavaria by both the theater and local CID in the past year or more. The association and social intercourses of [redacted] - with notorious and suspected German personages--certainly does not inspire the placing of confidence in him."

c. Conclusion: That Colonel [redacted] investigation was not obstructed and that there is no proof that [redacted] heads a "Gang."

17. a. Allegation: That [redacted], Garmisch Post, was tied up with the "gang" and had attempted to obstruct efforts of Colonel [redacted] by supplying information to the "gang". (Exhibit , page 21).

b. Facts: Colonel [redacted] declares, though he had no grounds except suspicion, that it was quite likely [redacted] was implicated in ome of the improper action of the Post. This suspicion was based on the act that [redacted] made it a point to become extremely familiar with he of Colonel [redacted] secretaries, and did post Colonel [redacted] telephone umber in the bachelor quarters as that of [redacted] office, and did onduct himself in such a manner that Colonel [redacted] was called three times y Post Headquarters to determine if [redacted] was assisting in the investigation. (43). He was not connected with the investigation in any fficial capacity. [redacted] is now out of the Service, and reported ving in Bologna, Italy.

c. Conclusion: That [redacted] was connected with he "gang" was not established by evidence, but by his actions did raise hat suspicion.

18. a. Allegation: The chief German confederate of the American roup is one [redacted] ***** had denazified before a rman Denazification Tribunal at Garmisch on the strength of a letter which wrote and in which he stated that [redacted] by certain action, e nature and details of which could not be divulged for military reasons, d saved the lives of thousands of American soldiers during the combat phase.

At the barracks the gold was unloaded and taken to the officers' mess where it was stored while a hiding place in the mountains was being prepared. The total consignment is known to have included: 730 twelve-kilogramme gold bars in small sacks (two per sack); 25 sealed boxes; 94 large sacks of banknotes and 34 forged printing plates.

Each gold bar was stamped with the initials RB, a German eagle, the date 1938 and its weight to three places of decimals.

On April 24, the treasure was reloaded into trucks and the convoy proceeded northwards towards the village of Einsiedl where several burial places had been prepared in the surrounding forest. It seems that when the gold was reloaded, it was not noticed that there were two bars missing. These had been secreted in a stove in a barrack room by one of the officers of the Mountain Troop Training School, possibly with the intention of recovering them later. The sack was not missed during the further transportation of the gold, but later someone decided to light up the stove. Smoke soon filled the room from the blocked stove and the sack was discovered. The two bars were taken to Walter Funk who, for some unknown reason, deposited them ceremoniously in the Sparkasse Savings Bank in Berchtesgaden. They were later discovered by the American military and taken to Munich from which point they seem to have disappeared.

Reaching Einsiedl, the gold was stored overnight in a house belonging to a forester, Herr Hans Neuhauser (senior). It seems that the whole area was cordoned off during the operation which attracted a lot of curiosity and attention from the locals. They knew something important was going on. There was at least one witness to the subsequent burial of the gold in the nearby forest which was carried out on the night of April 26. The gold was moved by six mules working in relays up the Klausenkopf mountainside to where holes had been dug and where the gold was buried.

Four days later, on April 30, a task force of the US 10th Armored — the 'Tiger' Division — under Lieutenant Colonel Curtiss L. Hankins reached Garmisch. Initially, the American forces had no idea of the existence of the Reichsbank hoard. How Counter Intelligence Corps officers came to discover it was buried in the area is still a mystery but three CIC officers soon appeared to question the Neuhauser household including a Herr Forstreicher, an evacuee from Munich, who was billeted with the family. Herr Forstreicher admitted he had witnessed the burial and offered to take the Americans to the spot.

'I had no wish to conceal anything,' said Forstreicher to Stanley Moss in 1953. 'There was no question of a reward. I told them what I had seen from the mountain so they asked me to take them up and show them the route the mules had followed . . . First we found a case full of pistols, binoculars and ammunition. Then we came to a large area where the earth was all churned up. The hoof-marks of the mules were still visible.'

Once the spot had been located, fifty American soldiers were brought in with mine detectors and, on June 7, 1945, the hoard was unearthed and a fleet of trucks came to take it away. Herr Forstreicher watched the operation from a nearby hillside through binoculars (just as he had watched the Germans bury the gold). Once loaded, the convoy left in the direction of Garmisch-Partenkirchen.

The document *(left)* from one of the reports on the investigation into the alleged theft is typical of many obtained through the US Freedom of Information Act by Ian during his five-year, £50,000 research project. All had been heavily censored except one where the name of the officer under investigation had been inadvertently left in.

From that point, the route of the gold becomes extremely tenuous and the whole story is complicated by speculation, intrigue, graft, black marketeering, and murder, which Ian will reveal in his book *Nazi Gold.*

The logical start to our own tour was was to retrace the route of the gold as far as this was known and we started at the barracks at Mittenwald. These are still occupied by the German Army, although renamed the Eidelweiss Kaserne, and the whole surrounding area is virtually unchanged. We continued motoring north along the E6 and passed through Krun and Wallgau before reaching the little hamlet of Einseidl. There the forest house, once occupied by the Neuhauser family, still stands alone near the edge of the lake and is still used as a forester's residence.

Several paths lead off into the forest which covers the foothills of the Klausenkopf mountain, some 4,000ft high, and we spent several hours inspecting the area.

Garmisch-Partenkirchen, as the name implies, is really two towns split by the River Loisach and it was there that we spent most of our time visiting the various buildings concerned in the story. The American Military HQ on Bahnhofstrasse is still appropriately

Above: **One of the centres of intrigue in Garmisch just after the end of the war was Clausings Post Hotel now a fashionable watering hole.** *Below:* **An early HQ used by the investigating team was another Post Hotel — this time in Mittenwald 'high street'.**

The HQ of the special US Army CID unit sent to investigate the loss was here at this palatial chalet on the old Garmisch-Mittenwald road. Today a new bypass has left this a quiet backwater ideally suited to its present role of a company hotel.

No. 40 Kleinfeldstrasse was the residence of Lieutenant-Colonel Leonard H. Smith, in charge during the 1947 inquiry.

At the height of the investigation, the beautiful 37-year-old Zenta Hauser was murdered in the White Horse Inn on Bahnhofstrasse. It was well known that the place was a centre for black marketeering and that Zenta was heavily involved, although Ian now believes she was a US undercover agent. *Above left:* **Although the building is still a restaurant-cum-drinking house it no longer sports its original name but the white horse on the end wall provides a link with the past.** *Above right:* **Zenta was killed in her kitchen on the first floor at the rear of the building.**

owned by the US Forces, the ground floor being a PX store and the upper floors converted into self-contained flats. The rooms where the Military Governor's office had been situated on the first floor are now part of a private apartment and Mr. Hungerford kindly allowed us access to take photographs. Several members of the Military Government lived at No. 88 Hauptstrasse, then the Alpenland Hotel but which had its name changed in 1953 to the Von Steuben Hotel. It is still a US forces billet and we photographed Room 336 on the first floor which was once used by one of the Military Governors.

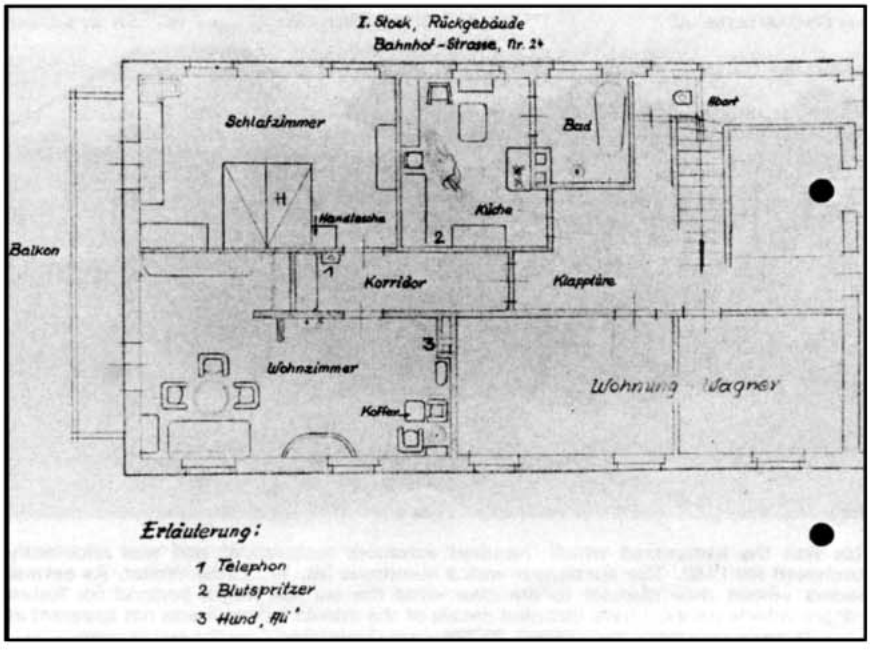
The 10th Armored Division HQ was situated in what is now the Spielbank and the HQ for the Inspector-General's investigation (which was mounted in 1947 to discover what had become of the gold) was located at No. 40 Kleinfeldstrasse.

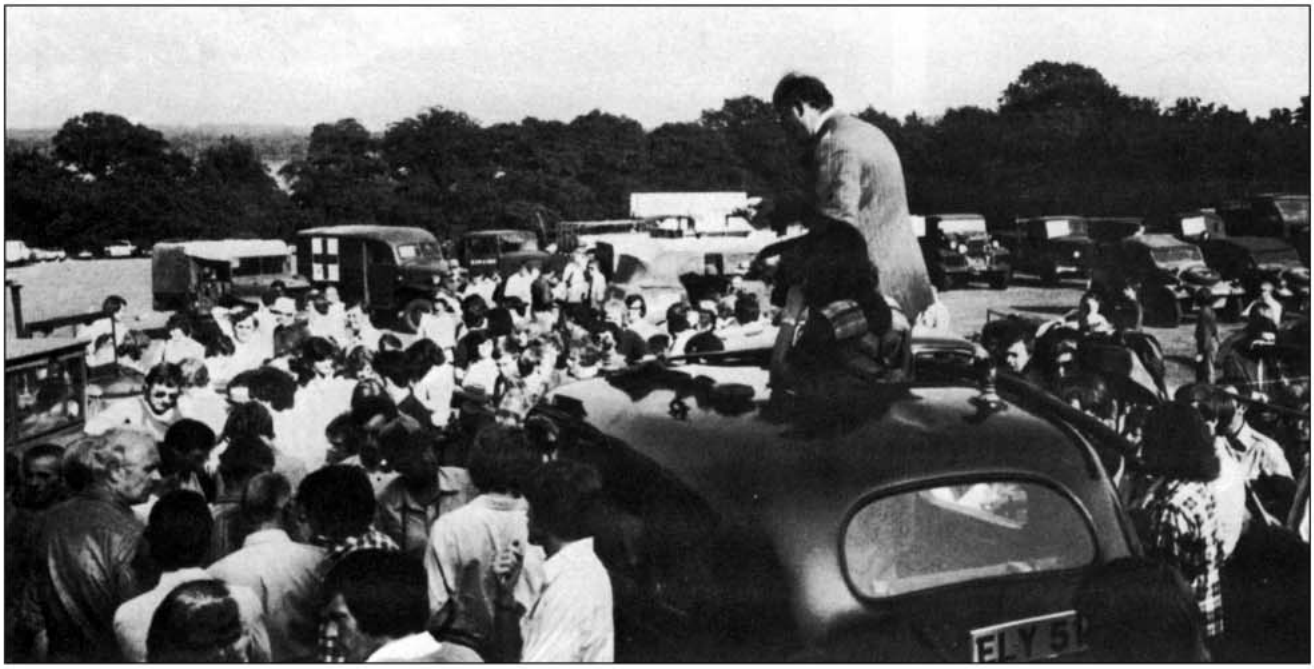
Centre of intrigue in Garmisch in the early post-war period was the Post Hotel, now catering for more law-abiding tourists, and the White Horse Inn on the Bahnhofstrasse was a well-known centre of the black market. It was here that Zenta Hauser, a strikingly beautiful woman, ruled the underworld in Garmisch until her murder in her first-floor bedroom on December 23, 1947. With the help of a scene of crime plan we had obtained, we were able to pinpoint the exact spot — now converted into a kitchen.

Although this was by no means his first visit to Garmisch, Ian had been filming and recording each location all through our visit in preparation for his proposed documentary film on the robbery. As for his book on the subject, this has now been written from Ian's research by Fred Nolan and is due to be published in the spring of 1981. (Nolan has already sold 240,000 copies of *The Mittenwald Syndicate,* his 'faction' on the same subject.)

It was Ian's original intention to tell the full story and name names but, unfortunately, the same constraints which led to the adoption of pseudonyms in *Gold is Where You Hide It* twenty-five years ago have prevailed upon Ian's publishers, Molendinar Press and Sphere. Legal vetting of the text has delayed publication several times and led to much rewriting 'to protect the innocent'. We sympathise with Ian's frustration at the final result of six years research (which has led to yet another revised entry in the 1981 edition of the *Guinness Book of Records*) but look forward to reading his conclusions on the greatest robbery of all time.

Below left: **From this scene of crime plan we were able to pinpoint the exact spot** *(below right)* **where the body was found. The so-called 'Red Princess' (nick-named after the colour of her hair) was savagely butchered to death with a knife and hatchet between 3.00 and 4.00 a.m. on December 23, 1947. No one has ever been brought to trial for the crime — just one more of the many mysteries surrounding the early post-war goings on in and around Garmisch-Partenkirchen.**





The first military vehicle auction held by Messrs. Sotheby King and Chasemore was held at Joe Lyndhurst's Warnham War Museum, near Horsham, Sussex on September 1, 1979.

From the Editor . . .

It was extremely gratifying to receive many letters of praise and support following the publication of issue 25 with its feature on the 'stories behind the stories'. Any misgivings that I had felt about including a large commentary on our previous issues were quickly dispelled as it seems there is a desire for the continuation of a 'follow up' column. As space allows, I will therefore include a similar piece in future editions although, hopefully, more frequently.

Several letters referred directly to issue 25 so my apologies firstly to Alistair MacLean for crediting him with the authorship of *The Eagle has Landed* (page 6) which was, as many readers pointed out, written by Jack Higgins (pen name for Harry Patterson) who, as Michael Ginns of Grouville, Jersey pointed out, will be polishing his shotgun waiting for me when we publish our much-delayed Channel Islands story!

Thanks also to Stephen Flower of Richmond, Surrey and Eddie Walker of Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire for pointing out that the aircraft used in the TV film *Sole Survivor* was a Mitchell bomber not a B-24 as I stated on page 6.

John A. Weal of Cookham, Berkshire also suggested that I missed an even better pun by misquoting the remark attributed to Professor Jones on page 13 which should have read 'What — twice a knight at your age?'

Readers should also note that the Hartenstein Hotel at Arnhem was purchased by the town council of Renkum — I upset the locals by crediting the initiative for the museum to the town of Arnhem (page 15).

Derek Knight of MoD rang to say that the Frenchman with Jimmie Mapham in the picture on page 4 is the Mayor of Caen.

In spite of my comments regarding the private finance of films, Century Films, a new company formed by Mike Ross and Eddie Kenten, bravely went ahead with the production of *Arnhem Revisited.* Filming began in September 1979, with several reconstructions in and around Arnhem. At the same time I was very pleased to see the film of the hunt for the *X-5* (issue No. 17) broadcast on BBC-2 TV on August 25, 1980.

Results from the Sotheby military vehicle auction publicised in issue 25 will no doubt be of interest to readers. Several collectors had voiced their fears to us that the name of Sotheby might increase prices and thereby establish a new norm. Prices of jeeps, for example, have already appreciated nearly ten times in the past seven years without the assistance of one of the world's foremost auctioneers! However, the reserve prices fixed on many items meant that these lots were not sold although this was not apparent or announced to those attending the sale. Not sold (with prices reached in brackets) were the 1938 R-60 German army motorcycle (£500); 1939 German Army BMW R.12 (£1,250); 1939 German Army Zundapp (£850); 1942 American 'Indian' motorcycle (£600); 1942 Dodge Command Car (£160); Morris Commercial (£380); three Kubelwagens (£1,200, £1,300 and £1,800); International half-track (£2,750); Dodge weapons carrier (£950); Fordson WOT 3 tractor (£500); Studebaker M29 (£1,400); Hotchkiss jeep (£1,300); Morris 8cwt (£1,200) and a WWI Nash ammunition carrier (£450).

With his catch phrase, 'Showing to you there, and you'll start me where', promptly at 2.30 p.m. auctioneer W. Leslie Weller began the sale which ended three hours later with over £50,000 in the till.

One humorous moment came when the bidding for a heap of rusty metal described in the catalogue as a Kettenkrad 'needing extensive restoration' managed to reach £100 after a struggle. Mr. Weller, turning to his staff at the drop of his hammer, called 'Gentlemen through there — where's he gone!'

Surprise of the show was Lot 59: three wartime photo albums once the property of Sir Winston Churchill. Although many of the pictures were ones available freely from the Imperial War Museum, bidding began at £2,000 rising rapidly to £7,200. A surprise call from a voice in the audience raised this to £8,000, the same man (Peter Cowan of Sunninghill, Surrey) again raising the bidding from £8,400 to £10,000 in one jump!

Other items that sold were folding bicycles at £85 to £150; Gnome et Rhone AX2 solo motorcycle £580; 1942 Morris C8 artillery tractor £350; 1942 K2 Austin ambulance £1,150; Dodge weapons carriers at £1,500, £2,050 and £3,300; GMC DUKW £2,650; a 1942 Daimler scout car £2,000 and another one (illustrated in issue No. 25) at £2,350;

This was the Kettenkrad which 'required extensive restoration' and was reluctantly purchased for £100. The auctioneer was a humorous Mr. W. Leslie Weller. As several readers voiced their disquiet to me over what the auction might portend for future military vehicle prices, I have included details of the unsold lots as it was not apparent at the time of the sale that many items had been 'purchased back' by the auctioneers.

Sergeant Orville Hanna — then and now — courtesy of the late Bill Beardmore.

1944 Albion artillery tractor £1,000; Bedford MW £1,650; Ford Model 'T' truck £2,600; GPW jeep £2,000 and other jeeps at £900 and £1,450; Dodge WC27 ambulance £1,600; Ford WOT2 trucks at £700 and £1,500; 1942 Chevrolet C15A truck at £750; the best restored Kubelwagen at £3,000; a Studebaker Weasel £1,750; Humber staff car £1,550 and a Scammel recovery tractor at £1,500.

As with all things temporal, costs increase and make rises in prices inevitable. However, we hope readers will console themselves that the new price of the magazine (£1.25) is still less than 1/6d. in WWII money — the £ today being only worth 6½p or 1/3½d! Unfortunately, another change will be soon forced on us by the demise of the Culter Guard Bridge paper mill responsible for the paper for the magazine. We have always used a high-quality British clay-coated art paper (except for one issue during the period of paper shortage) and there are no other substitutes available.

Since my last column eighteen months ago, there have been three deaths of people who will be known to readers. The first was the tragic passing of Bill Beardmore, our youthful Canadian distributing agent and an enthusiastic follower of our adventures. Only a short time before he died, he wrote to tell us of an amazing coincidence.

'Some time after D-Day, Sergeant E. O. (Orville) Hanna and Corporal M. W. Musgrave were to be found in the Place St. Gervais in Falaise. A military photographer approached them and asked to take their picture (issue No. 8, page 10). The town was still burning from recent fighting. Sergeant Hanna still has the photo given him by the photographer. His duties with the Canadian Provost Corps took him across Europe. Corporal Musgrave was not so lucky as an '88' cut short his life only a couple of days after the photo had been taken. Sergeant Hanna is now a service salesman in an automotive dealership in Toronto. The matching of the man and the photo was done quite by accident by my father, C. W. Beardmore, who has been a co-worker of Mr. Hanna for many years.' (We tried to trace the grave of Corporal Musgrave without success which seems to indicate that he survived his wounds.)

Another sudden death was that of Mr. Alan Walton, MA, of the Air Photographs Unit at Keele University (see issue No. 7). It was largely due to his dedicated efforts that the Royal Air Force wartime reconnaissance photographs were preserved and made available to us today. I for one am extremely grateful for all his efforts, having drawn extensively on the collection for the magazine, and wish his wife Sheila, who is continuing his work, every strength in her task.

Then we learned, in February 1980, that Bill Ottery, one of our two Himmler grave-diggers (see issue No. 17), had passed away after several serious operations and a long illness. It was he who had remembered the events of May 1945 the clearest and had so enjoyed our return visit to Lueneberg.

The successful preservation of the *Jeremiah O'Brien* in 1980 (see issue No. 30) was contrasted with efforts in Britain to save HMS *Ark Royal.* The Ark Royal Preservation Trust was founded in 1978 to preserve the carrier as a combined international museum of the sea and marine research and leisure centre at Greenwich. Test bores costing £20,000 were made to ensure the river bed could accept the permanent reinforced-concrete mooring. As the preservation of the ship would bring improvements to riverside amenities on that part of the Thames and provide about 300 new jobs, the Greater London Council backed the scheme to the tune of £1.5 million. Other funds totalling £13.5 million were reported as being forthcoming from a Canadian trust and an offer of £1,250,000 was made to the Government for the vessel. However, the decision to go ahead and scrap the ship was announced in Parliament at the end of March 1980 — only twenty-four hours after the Trust had apparently sought a meeting between its financial backers and the Ministry to show that funds were available as soon as the Ministry agreed to sell. In the light of the world's steel glut, the offer was £500,000 more than the scrap value and members of the Trust were horrified when the Government pressed ahead with the scrapping of the ship. A statement issued by the Trust said that, 'It is clear that certain admirals of the fleet, aided and abetted by senior civil servants of the Defence Ministry, have assumed the divine right to prevent at any cost the preservation of the *Ark Royal* and to deny the nation a project of major benefit'.

In spite of the protests, the 30-year career of the ship that had begun in 1943 ended in September 1980 when she was towed out of Plymouth harbour on the five-day journey to the breaker's yard at Cairn Ryan in Scotland.

That same month, we received a letter from Pat Murphy of Vancouver, British Columbia to say that he had visited Bremerton where the American 'mothball' fleet is tied up (see issue No. 12). The USS *Missouri* was one of the ships he visited and, although there are eight sealed humidification zones where dehumidifiers keep the relative humidity of the ship between 25 and 35 per cent, parts are

The funeral cortege for HMS Ark Royal, built by Cammell Laird in 1943, buried without honours 1980 (Keystone).

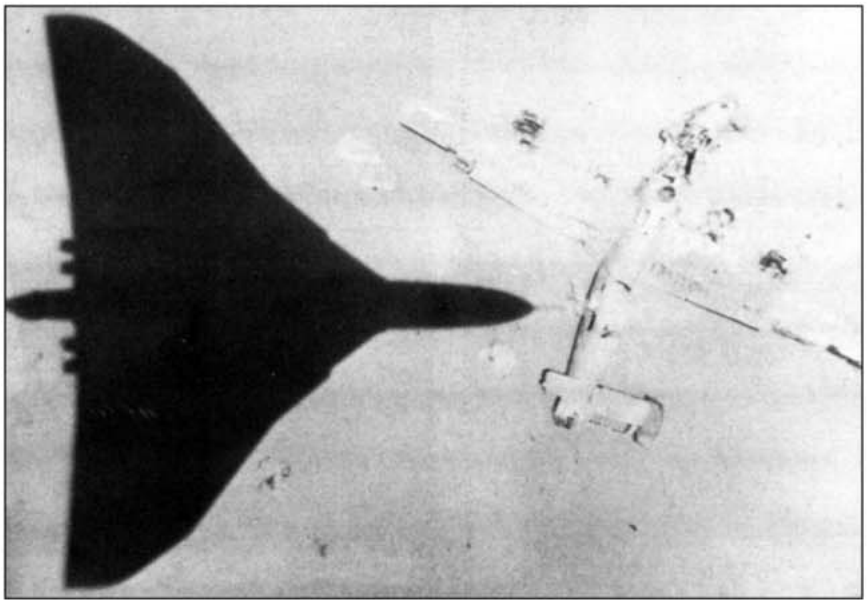
open to the public. The exterior of the underwater hull is protected from corrosion by means of carefully adjusted electric currents in a process called cathodic protection. The *Missouri,* BB63, mounting nine 16-inch guns, twenty 5-inch and eighty 40mms was laid down in 1941 and completed in 1944 in time to participate in the Pacific campaign. On September 2, 1945, the Japanese Instrument of Surrender was signed on her deck — accurately portrayed in the film *MacArthur* (see issue No. 23). She served in the Korean conflict before being decommissioned on February 26, 1955. Mr. Murphy commented that her sister ship is also at Bremerton together with the battleship USS *New Jersey* and the aircraft carriers *Hornet* and *Bon Homme Richard.*

Too late for publication in issue 27 for our story on the Ju 88 recovered in Epping Forest was information received in a letter from the German War Graves Commission — the Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgraberfursorge — concerning the fate of the crew. When we examined the undertaker's record and cemetery registers at Chingford Mount, it was obvious to us that only fragmentary remains of the crew were recovered and that there was no identification whatsoever of the fourth crewman Franz Weber. One can therefore imagine our astonishment to read that Gefreiter Franz Weber now has a grave at Cannock Chase — No 53/54 in Row 3 of Block 8!

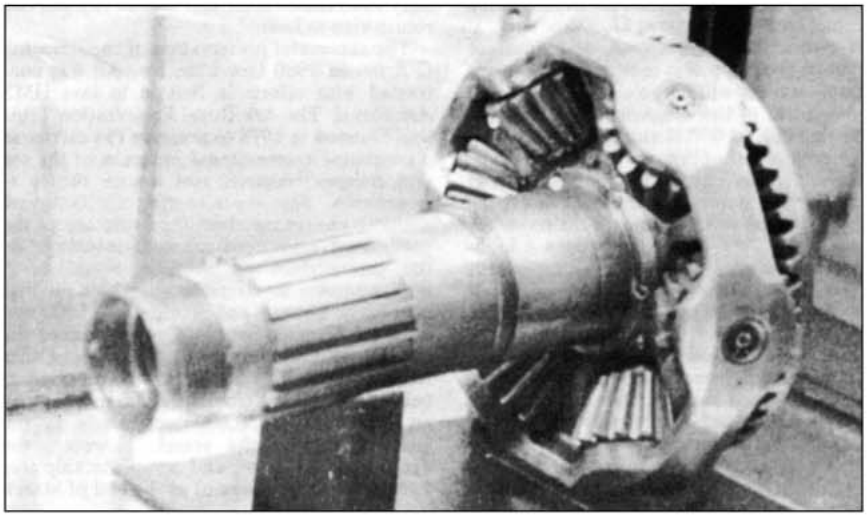
Subsequent to the publication of issue No. 26, the Commonwealth War Graves Commission inspected the graves at Maulusmillen (page 53) and, seeing that these were so well maintained, decided to amend their records to state that these airmen are buried at the crash site and not to record them as being alternatively commemorated at Hotton.

Issue 25 contained the tragic story of the *Lady Be Good* — lost with her crew in the Libyan desert for sixteen years. One of our American readers wrote to tell us that he inspected the wreck in January 1980, landing at the site on New Year's Day. He said that he had searched the entire area and could not find anything detachable — not even a nut or bolt. He did find live ammunition buried in the sand underneath the wings but left it there as he said that souvenirs taken over the years have been a curse to the owners! Our prayers therefore go out to the Lincolnshire Aviation Museum at Old Station Yard, Tattershall who have the reduction gear from one of the propellers — the only piece we know of on display in Britain. The actual exhibit is visible in the bottom picture on page 48 in front of the aircraft.

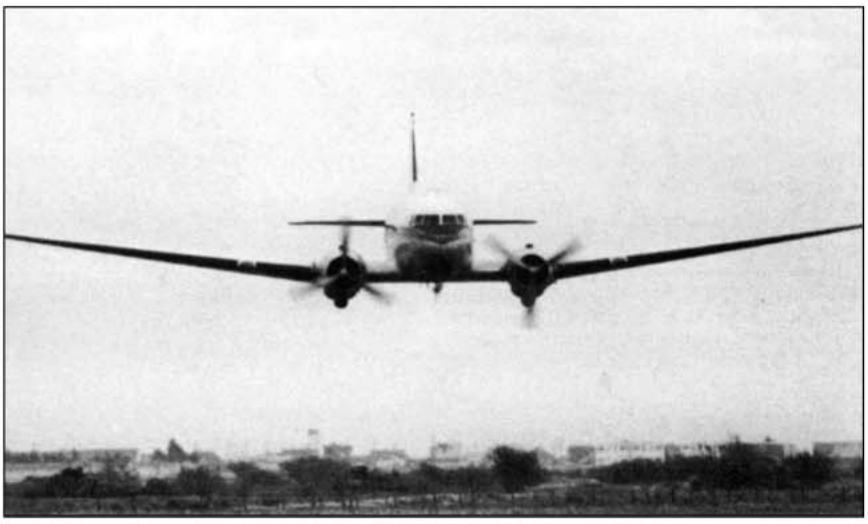
Another aviation organisation — the Fenland Aircraft Preservation Society — were instrumental in supplying a memorial to the 200-odd RAF graves at Bergen in northern Holland. No. 617 Squadron Association had approached the Society and the latter was able to provide a blade recovered from Lancaster ED715 of No. 156 Squadron which crashed near Chatteris, Cambridgeshire on May 5, 1943 while returning from a raid on Dortmund. The crew had baled out when the Lanc ran out of fuel and the remains of the aircraft were excavated by the Society on September 10/11, 1977. The memorial was donated jointly by the Fenland Society and the 617 Squadron Association to the people and the Cemetery Committee of Bergen and was unveiled by Mr. J. R. Hood (formerly Flight Sergeant) who was the navigator on ED715.



Wing Commander Richard Lane took this photo of the Lady Be Good in 1967 from a Vulcan on a sortie from Akrotiri, Cyprus. Note that unknown hands have, for some reason, straightened up the tail section. The following year he made an overland trip with the Desert Rescue Team from El Adem and found the aircraft in good shape with a main tyre still inflated. He picked up the prop mounting shaft and reduction gear *(below)* which was later given to the Lincolnshire Aviation Museum.



Former navigator of ED715, ex-Flight Sergeant Hood, in Bergen cemetery Holland with the propeller blade provided by the Fenland Aircraft Preservation Society. Although the Commonwealth War Graves Commission do not allow such non-standard memorials in their own cemeteries, in this case the war graves lie within the local cemetery.



The unveiling of the 'adoption crest' on G-AGYZ with the Mayor of Maidstone (centre) and Terry Beddowes of Skyways (right).

The Headcorn branch of the Royal Air Forces Association is one of the most active in the dedication and preservation of items important to the heritage and history of the RAF. Typical of the challenges which have been faced by the branch was their 'adoption' of a veteran Dakota DC-3 G-AGYZ which, as FZ681, had taken part in the Arnhem operation, being damaged on a re-supply mission and which was still flying with the Kent-based Skyways Cargo Airline after logging a total of nearly 27,000 hours. Together with Skyway's managing director, Terry Beddowes, Headcorn had proposed that the 'adoption', by the unveiling of their crest on the nose of the aeroplane, would recognise the sterling service of the aircraft and her various crews. The ceremony took place at Lydd Airport on May 2, 1976 when the freshly painted and serviced veteran was wheeled out, and the RAFA crest was unveiled by the CO of RAF Biggin Hill.

The next task was the tracing of the airmen who flew FZ681 with No. 233 Squadron based at Blakehill Farm and it was hoped to hold a reunion on the first anniversary of the adoption. However, before this could be held Headcorn RAFA received the bombshell news that the aircraft was being sold to the World Health Organisation for work in Ethiopia and would therefore be unable to be present 'in person' at the ceremony. Undaunted, the Association, acting with the same thoughts as a friend of Mr. Donald Douglas of the Douglas Aircraft Company who said that: 'The only replacement for a DC-3 is another DC-3', chose another of Skyway's veterans G-AMWW, a 20,000-hour veteran of the Berlin Airlift. She was formerly a No. 46 Squadron aircraft KN492 based at Manston shortly after the end of the war.

The No. 233 Squadron reunion took place on August 6, 1977 attended by thirty former members including their wartime CO, Air Marshal Sir William Coles. Also present were Ken Cranefield and Terry Holmes, both living in Essex, who were pilot and navigator respectively when the Dakota was hit by flak on September 23, 1944.

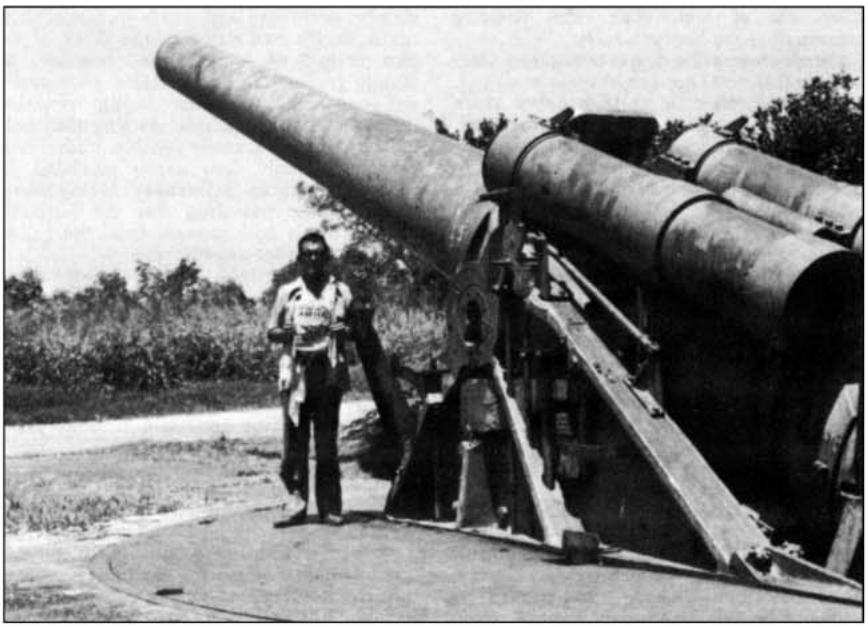
'The aircraft was hit by flak before reaching the dropping zone', recalls Ken Cranefield. 'Shortly afterwards the starboard wing was shot through and we lost part of the starboard ailerons making the aircraft difficult, but not impossible, to fly. A shell burst below the aircraft and a shell fragment tore a jagged 12-inch wound in my right leg. There was no tourniquet in the first-aid kit so I used the flex of the pilot's hand microphone. After dropping our supplies on that unpleasant afternoon we were among the few lucky ones who managed to limp back to Blakehill Farm. The remarkable old Dakota still kept flying.'

On the following day, everyone attended the adoption of Yankee-Zulu's successor, Whisky-Whisky at Lydd. Air Marshal Coles unveiled the crest, and the DC-3 is still flying for Skyways. Incidentally, the adoption prompted the present secretary of Headcorn, Norman Wilkins, to examine his log book and he found that he flew the aircraft on the Berlin Airlift, so the DC-3 is indeed closely connected with Headcorn.

Mr. A. J. Noyes wrote to us from Bahrain to say that he had visited Corregidor using issue No. 23 as a guide. Unlike our author William Bartsch, he travelled across Manila Bay by LST and landed at South Dock with 600 members of the Philippine Army OTU. He said that relics are rare due to the dense jungle and rust but several cartridge cases were found and a Japanese helmet, unfortunately too fragile to travel.

Another interesting letter came from Gibraltar — from Mr. R. L. Coles, who is the Deputy Manager at HM Dockyard — to point out an error in issue 25. On page 24 we described the end of HMS *Undaunted* but Mr. Coles wrote: 'You mentioned that she had been stripped of engines, etc. (taken from press report — Ed.). In fact when sunk she was complete down below. Some years ago she was refitted, placed in reserve and then taken out of reserve for use as a target vessel. Right up to the end, I would send men to her to

One of our readers Mr. A. J. Noyes on his 'after the battle' visit to Corregidor beside Battery Hearn.



Above: **Massacre of Dachau guards by 'Smitty' kneeling behind machine gun. Could the blurred figure on the extreme left be Colonel 'Robert Wiley' running up to kick 'Smitty' from the gun?** *Below:* **The caption as issued with the print SC208765 (US Army).**

SC 208765 DACHAU, GERMANY
Soldiers of the 45th Inf Div, U S Seventh Army, order SS men to come forward after one of their number tried to escape from the Dachau concentration camp after it was liberated by U S Forces. Men on the ground feign death by falling as the guards fired a volley at the fleeing SS man.
157th Regt.
29 April 1945
Photo by T/4 Arland B Musser
from 163rd Sig Photo Co

remove bits for other ships and have been into her engine and boiler rooms myself. Although it was a sad end, I would not have wanted to see her preserved as she was as she had been so altered from the destroyer in her heyday to a Type 15 frigate.

News also reached us that restoration of the M-10 tank destroyer by Peter Gray (issue No. 25) led to him being granted Honorary Membership of the 2nd Armored Division (the vehicle bears the insignia of the 702nd TD Battalion) by its commanding officer at Fort Hood, Texas, Major General Charles P. Graham.

The Dachau story in issue 27 brought several letters and Peter Malim of Ross-on-Wye pointed us to *Deliverance Day* by Michael Selzer for an explanation of what was really happening when the photographs on page 15 were taken although he believed that the names had been changed in the book. The following quotation is taken from the point just after SS-Obersturmfuehrer Heinrich Skodzensky has been taken into custody:

Lieutenant William Jackson was left with a squad to do guard duty.

He looked at the Kraut prisoners. They were being brought in in small groups, ten or fifteen at a time. Small enough groups to make out the individual faces and to sense the fear and humiliation that each man felt. He had them line up against the high concrete wall facing the machine gun on its tripod. He stood next to the gun. His men fanned out to either side of him, their rifles pointing menacingly at the Nazi prisoners.

A fresh group of Nazis was brought in. Only five men this time, but one of them was a tall, blond-haired officer in an immaculate black uniform, peaked cap, shiny boots, and all. 'This here guy says he's the commander, sir,' Hardwick called out, 'he wants to speak to you.' Jackson walked ~~over~~ and looked the man up and down.

Skodzensky gave a military salute, which Jackson ignored. 'I am the commanding officer of the guard in the camp,' he said in fluent, British-accented English, 'and I herewith surrender the camp to your forces.' He looked down at Jackson, perfectly at ease, it seemed, as if waiting for Jackson to thank him for his courtesy.

'Line this piece of shit up with the rest of 'em over there,' Jackson said to Hardwick in a quivering voice. 'And I want to see his hands higher than anyone else's.' He turned and strolled back to the machine gun.

Skodzensky's arrival had an extraordinary effect on the GIs. The previous batches of Nazis had been men of all ages but uniformly shabby and despondent looking. Skodzensky, on the other hand looked — and behaved — as though he were on a parade ground. There was nothing dejected or servile about his appearance and his manner was just a little too cocky. Lined up against the wall with his men, he conveyed some of his arrogant assurance to them. Almost imperceptibly, their bearing changed, and this change did not go unnoticed by either Jackson or his men.

Up to now, the GIs had stood guard in tense silence, each man lost in his own thoughts, coping in his own way with the shock of the past couple of hours. Now, however, as though responding to the Nazis' provocative self-assurance, the men began swearing threats at their prisoners. At first they only muttered them, scarcely audibly, under their breaths. Rapidly their curses escalated, in volume as well as in intensity, fusing into a chorus whose backdrop was the distinctly audible howls and screams from the prison compound not far away.

Jackson understood that his men were going beserk with murderous rage and that there was nothing he could do about it. Not only because he had lost control of them, but because he was feeling everything they were and was losing control over himself, too.

'They're vermin, sir,' Smitty, looking up from the machine gun, said to him. Tears were rolling down his cheeks. 'They don't deserve to live another minute. But there's no death that's bad enough for them.'

'I'd like to kill 'em with my bare hands,' Jackson agreed.

'Kill 'em!' someone echoed. 'Kill 'em! Kill 'em!' Others took up the cry until it seemed that the whole squad was chanting the same refrain: 'Kill 'em!'

Screaming the words now, his body convulsed with sobs, Smitty let off a burst of fire from his machine gun. Noiselessly, ten or twelve Nazis slipped to the ground, dead. The spectacle did not propitiate any of the men. Without even pausing they continued to scream, 'More! More! Kill 'em all!' they yelled. Again Smitty pulled the trigger and again Nazis fell to the ground — this time about thirty of them. Skodzensky was in this batch. But his death did not appease the GIs, either. Smitty took his time. The seconds ticked by until the suspense became unbearable. Again he opened fire in a long, raking action that felled thirty, forty, fifty, and finally nearly eighty Nazis. Now only three remained standing, miraculously unscathed by the spray of lead. Two had their hands dutifully in the air, as they had been ordered, while a third, whether out of defiance or despair, crossed his arms in front of him and awaited his fate. Smitty, however, noticing that some of the men on the ground were wounded rather than dead, temporarily ignored the three still on their feet and directed the gun at the pile of bodies on the ground. They soon stopped twitching. Now he turned his attention to the three survivors.

'Stop that crazy bastard!' The shout rang out loud and clear despite the murderous chanting of the GIs. Seemingly out of nowhere, Colonel Robert Wiley came charging into the scene, his holster and canteen flapping crazily at his waist. He was no more than ten or fifteen feet away when Smitty loosed off the final burst. In frustration, or because the momentum of his charge could not be broken in time, Wiley

Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Anne Lanigan, we can present this comparison of Reinhard Heydrich's grave in the Friedhof der Sophien-Kirche Gemeinde.

continued his dash forward and, leaping in the air, kicked Smitty with enormous force in his head. His helmet prevented the kick from shattering the soldier's skull but the blow sent him sprawling onto the muddy ground in a daze. Even then he continued muttering, 'Kill 'em, kill 'em.'

But there were no more to kill. One hundred and twenty-two Nazis lay dead in a neat row along the base of the wall.

Michael Selzer commented in *Deliverance Day* that, 'courts-martial were never held. Charges against Jackson and Smitty filed by the division commander were dropped, according to reports, because of the embarrassment that it was thought the trial would cause the Allies while they engaged in prosecuting the major Nazi war criminals, not far to the north, in Nuremberg . . . Unit after-action reports for the day were prettied up to conceal the massacre of the surrended SS guards and to enable each division to claim that its units had been the first to liberate Dachau.'

My only comment is that the incredible thing about these photographs and those we printed on the 'Webling incident' is that they got past the censor. One would have imagined that if the killings were to be hushed up, photographs of the shootings would not have been released. I have reproduced, in facsimile, the official caption on the reverse of the Dachau picture.

Two fascinating letters we received recently concerned the Heydrich story (issue No. 24). The first came from Hans Hubl, one-time member of the Hermann Goering Fallschirmjaeger Regiment now living in West Berlin. He commented that since the Berlin wall was erected on August 13, 1961, the Invaliden Cemetery (where Heydrich was buried) has been totally closed. In the years previously, he said he always visited the cemetery which contains many persons honoured equally by the GDR — Scharnhorst for instance. Herr Hubl said that, 'unfortunately the place is now filled with wild plants and bushes so high that the crosses and stones can hardly be seen.' He said that the account (given us by the East German Press Agency) that the Nazi headstones have been obliterated and can no longer be seen is not correct. Herr Hubl states that the Russians did nothing — no obliterating and equally no cultivation. He also told us that in 1978, the 60th Anniversary of the death of Manfred von Richthofen, the GDR government offered the remains of the WWI hero to the von Richthofen family for reburial in Wiesbaden (his fourth burial! — Ed.).

In the light of the above letter, it was extremely interesting to hear from Dr. Anne Lanigan from County Tipperary, Ireland: 'I read your article on the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich with great interest, especially since I recently visited Prague. It is also still possible to find the site of Heydrich's grave in the Friedhof der Sophien-Kirche Gemeinde in the Bergstrasse in Berlin. I was there last summer and found the spot by comparing the place with a photograph taken on the day of the funeral featuring Himmler standing beside a very distinctive iron railing. This railing still stands beside a now very overgrown grave. It is a very large graveyard with plenty of trees and undergrowth. The western end forms part of the Berlin wall. From the top of the cemetery, the site is to the left of the main path, about one third of the way down. Nearby were stones with the names Heidrich, Gustav and Gerhard.

Bjorn Olsen, joint author of the story of the Heinkel and Gladiator preservation in Norway featured in issue 28, wrote to us in June 1980 about a very interesting sequel which took place at Rygge Main Air Base on June 5. This was a reunion of man and aircraft when ex-RAF Flight Lieutenant R. Stewart Mills saw his old Gloster Gladiator for the first time since April 1940.

Now a retired Group Captain, 69-year-old Stewart Mills visited Norway as a guest of the Norwegian Aviation Historical Society. After seeing again the places where he fought for Norway forty years before, he ended his stay with a visit to Rygge as the guest of the Royal Norwegian Air Force. There he met not only his old aircraft but also the daughter and son-in-law of Ludvig Hope who recovered it in 1940, Mr. & Mrs. Faye. After Mr. Hope's death they took good care of the Gladiator

Ex-Flight Lieutenant Stewart Mills in the cockpit of his restored Gladiator N5641 almost forty years to the day after he abandoned it on Lake Lesjaskogvatn in Norway.

Three stages in the life of the control tower at Framlingham (also named Parham). *Left:* In May 1944, during the time when the base was occupied by the 390th Bombardment Group; *above* in 1977, dilapidated by thirty years' neglect, and *below* in 1980 after its dedicated restoration by members of the 390th BG Memorial Air Museum.

and sold it to the Armed Forces Museum in Oslo in 1978.

Stewart Mills also met the officers who have been in charge of the restoration and it seems they were well rewarded by his continual remarks: 'Is'nt it bloody marvellous . . . ' as he examined his former mount. He even looked behind the pilot's seat, half expecting to find the pair of pyjamas he left behind when he abandoned the Gladiator! Other guests at Rygge were the surviving Norwegian Gladiator pilots who fought from Fornebu on April 9, 1940 and their commander, Captain Munthe-Dahl, now an 84-year-old retired Major General, who entered the fighter like a youngster.

Bjorn says that they hope an aircraft museum will be opened at Gardermoen some time in the future with the Gladiator standing next to one of the aircraft it fought against — the Heinkel He 111 P-1 of KG4.

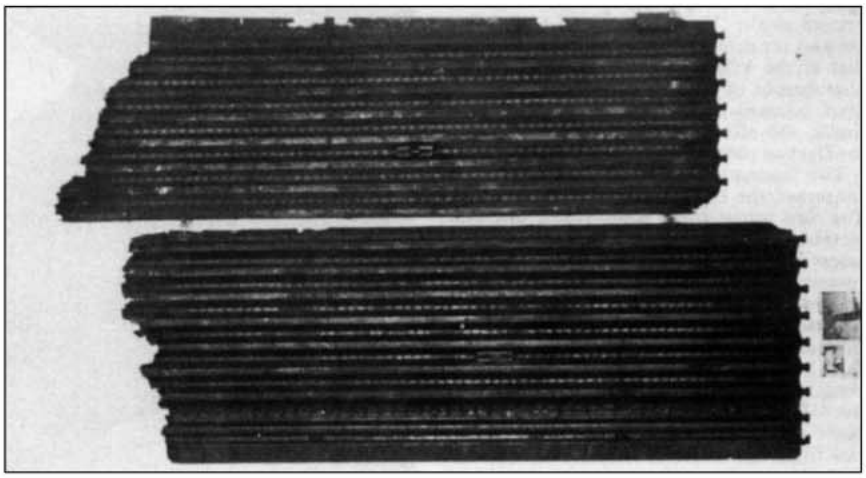
We are reliably informed that the museum is now open at Remagen, located in the west bank towers and consisting largely of stills from the film, photographs, various items of US Army equipment and other associated ephemera.

One of the latest 'enthusiast' museums to have been opened is the 390th Bomb Group Memorial Air Museum in the unit's former control tower at Framlingham. We photographed the dilapidated tower in June 1977 for *Airfields of the Eighth — Then and Now* and, subsequently, this was restored, solely with volunteer labour, under the direction of Mr. Ron Buxton. Various fund-raising activities were organised and the programme was helped enormously by the donation of $1,200 from former 390th BG veterans at their Memphis reunion

The exterior of the control tower has been completely re-surfaced and coated with 'Sandtex' and the interior has been painted throughout and the glass control cabin rebuilt utilising over 200 panes of glass.

'All the exhibits currently on show at the Tower', wrote public relations officer Martin Thompson in March 1980, 'have been recovered over a period of twelve years by the group members. As you can see from the photographs (which illustrate only a few exhibits of the many in our collection), the engines have been lovingly restored by Ron and his brother Don (both engineers by trade). We have also just recently recovered what we believe to be the last surviving example of a wartime air-sea rescue boat, as used by the 5th ERS based at Halesworth, Suffolk, early in 1945. The boat has lain at Orford, bogged down and rotting in oozing mud, for thirty years. It was owned by Mr. Schellman of Orford, who was given the boat in 1950 when the Americans disposed of surplus equipment at RAF Bentwaters. He has turned down many requests over the years from many museums (including the RAF Museum at Hendon), to obtain the boat for their collections, as up until recently, he wanted to cut it in half and convert it into a speed boat. Mr. Schellman finally agreed to let us have the boat for our collection in November last year. After several weeks

Air-sea rescue boat (specially designed to fit beneath a B-17) before its recovery from Orford. It is just visible beside the tower in the photo above.



Fragments from the bomb doors from the PB4Y Liberator which blew up over New Delight Wood while being piloted by Lieutenant Joseph Kennedy (see After the Battle No. 6). This is claimed to be the only relic from the aircraft on public display.

attempting to free the boat from the mud, we managed to refloat it on an exceptionally high spring tide, only to find that it had many unseen holes in the bottom, resulting in a race to beach it and haul it onto a lorry before it sank forever.

'Our problems did not end there as, due to the amount of mud and water hidden from view in the apparently air tight buoyancy tanks, the all-up weight was five tons. It involved much man power and the good offices of a local company (for use of a crane and low-loading lorry), to finally transport the boat to the Tower Museum at Framlingham. The boat is of all-aluminium construction and actually in a remarkably excellent state of preservation considering the years spent in the open at Orford. The design reflects the type of aircraft used to drop this type of boat as it is shaped to fit perfectly under the belly of a B-17 Flying Fortress, used by the Emergency Rescue Squadron during the war. The overall length is just under 30ft and the estimated weight (when finally pumped out) is three tons. Restoration of this boat to its former wartime condition will be carried out by a museum member who is an expert in boat building.

'The Museum is officially open to organised parties by prior arrangement with me. It should be emphasised that the surrounding land is private property, being a working farm, so it is not desirable to have unescorted visitors wandering around the area. The Tower is attended at weekends for visitors to view the exhibits (tours of the base are also available). Individuals wishing to visit are advised to contact me to arrange a convenient date. (Interested readers can reach Martin at 39 Barons Close, Halesworth, Suffolk. Telephone: Halesworth 2450.)

Northern Ireland has also been the scene of the restoration of a relic left over from the Second World War. From January to May 1973, the 3rd Royal Tank Regiment was posted to Northern Ireland primarily with the task of guarding the Maze prison constructed on the former RAF aerodrome of Long Kesh. There the 2 i/c of the Regiment, Major Keith Ecclestone, came across a dilapidated Valentine beside one of the disused runways. As the 3RTR was a regular tank regiment and had used Valentines during World War II, it was thought it would be an excellent project to restore the tank and leave it at the camp as a showpiece to the regiment. Men of A and HQ Squadrons set to work although the impossibility of obtaining any parts meant that the gun barrel had to be improvised out of wood. The turret itself was firmly jammed sideways and defied all attempts to free it.

Although requests were published for information on how the Valentine came to be at Long Kesh in the first place, no reliable information was forthcoming although as the base was formerly used by the REME, it may have been used by them for winching or recovery practice. One report stating that it may have belonged to the North Irish Horse seems unlikely.

The refurbished tank was set up within the camp area and named 'Curragh' in the tradition that all 3RTR tank names start with the third letter of the alphabet. Since then it has been moved to a new location outside RHQ at Lisanelly Camp at Omagh, County Tyrone, currently the home of the 2nd Royal Tank Regiment.

Interest in the raid on the Ruhr dams never seems to be satisfied and we still receive letters referring back to issue No. 3. It was sad to read therefore, in November 1979, of the death of the designer of the bombs Sir Barnes Wallis aged 92. The great man kept working right to the last on his plans for a 5,000 mph space-age airliner — a dream which he was convinced would one day be a reality. The passing of Sir Barnes led Raymond Hepner to send us photographs he had taken in 1976 when he took him back to Reculver in Kent

Above: **For many years this Valentine lay at Long Kesh in Northern Ireland before the 3 RTR towed it to their depot for restoration. Subsequently it was set up beside the Maze prison** *(below)* **but has since been moved to Lisanelly (P. A. Dobson).**

where the bouncing bomb experiments had taken place.

News from Belgium also arrived concerning the activities of a group of enthusiasts entitled the Cercle d'Archeologie Militaire or CAM for short, who were visited by our author Jean Paul Pallud in 1980. Living in the midst of the battlefields of the western front, especially those of the Battle of the Bulge, the young Belgian enthusiasts of CAM have developed their interests from model and diorama construction to more strenuous activities out on the real battleground.

Their activities began more as picnic excursions rather than co-ordinated research and, being already knowledgeable on the

Sir Barnes Wallis revisits for the first time the scene of his former glories at Reculver, Kent. Our reader Raymond Hepner of Sale, Cheshire, took him to where he had watched the bouncing bomb trials. Sir Barnes was accompanied by his wife who had never previously visited the test site.

The Belgian ladies and gentlemen of the Cercle d'Archeologie Militaire with examples uncovered while practising their highly dangerous hobby. War cemeteries contain many graves of those who died on official ordnance disposal: let this be a warning to would-be enthusiasts thinking of emulating their activities. (All photos CAM).

battles fought in the area, they knew fairly well where war debris might still exist. Although much was found on the surface, the acquisition of an ex-US Army mine-detector, although a cumbersome instrument to use in the dense pine forests of the Ardennes, nevertheless enabled the group to make some interesting discoveries. Early finds encouraged CAM to purchase a modern metal-detector and, shortly afterwards, they came across their first major 'uncleared' battlefield.

It was in June 1976 that six members set out to search 'a forest' which lies on the northern flank of the Bulge. The woods of the Ardennes, as any readers who have been to the area will know, are very thick and very dark and are seldom penetrated by man as one can only move under the low branches in a tiring, crouch position. However, proceeding with difficulty, the party reached an area where it was evident a hand-to-hand combat had raged some thirty-two years previously as an American group, withdrawing from their endangered position, had been attacked by the 277 Volksgrenadier Division. The place was littered with grenades, Garand clips, BAR magazines and hundreds of .45 rounds for Thompsons, intermingled with German ammunition, both fired and unfired. In the thickest part of the wood, unfortunately impossibly dark for photography, they found the spot where the victims of the struggle had been buried and very old crosses made of two branches nailed together marked numerous forgotten graves. Nearby was a tragic symbol — a German boot lying inside an American helmet pierced from side to side by a bullet. Feeling that they were probably the first people to reach the place since the burial party had departed three decades before, the group left, 'very impressed and moved by the crude witness of past violence'.

Another adventure occurred three months later. On this occasion CAM could only field five members for an expedition to another heavily-wooded area. This time the fir trees were so closely spaced that it was only possible to move by crawling. Object of the search was to find a reputed American supply dump and they soon knew when they had found it by the overloaded signals on the detector. Literally thousands of US gas masks littered the ground in the midst of which was a fired, yet unexploded, 120mm German shell — still as shiny as the day it was fired.

Latest finds have been a cache of more than fifty 81mm mortar bombs, phosphorus shells and bazooka rockets uncovered about three feet down in May 1979 and an MG42 dug up by two of the female members of the group in September 1979. Although the wooden butt had disintegrated, the weapon was in such good mechanical condition that, after cleaning, it was considered it would still fire — although the risk was not taken.

Jean Paul comments that although the four expeditions reported here resulted in successful finds, it must not be thought that this is a commonplace event. Many fruitless days have been spent in these immense forests and he warns others of trying to emulate their rather dangerous activities. As an example of the inherent dangers, at one discovery they found a well-preserved box of .30 calibre cartridges. As soon as it was lifted, the member concerned realised his mistake . . . it was booby-trapped! Underneath the box, and linked to it by a wire, was a MkII grenade. Fortunately the wire had been weakened by rust and the grenade pin was more or less rusted in. Consequently, the wire broke before it pulled the pin but it was a graphic example of the way many deaths and maimings have occurred to great numbers of inquisitive youngsters 'sur la Continent' since the war.

Mr. S. G. Welch wrote to tell us of a visit he made to Mortain where he visited Hill 317 and La Petite Chapelle. He discovered numerous relics on the slopes of the hill and sent us photographs of US-issue gas masks, a rusted Garand rifle, a German helmet with bullet mark and some very interesting SS identification discs.

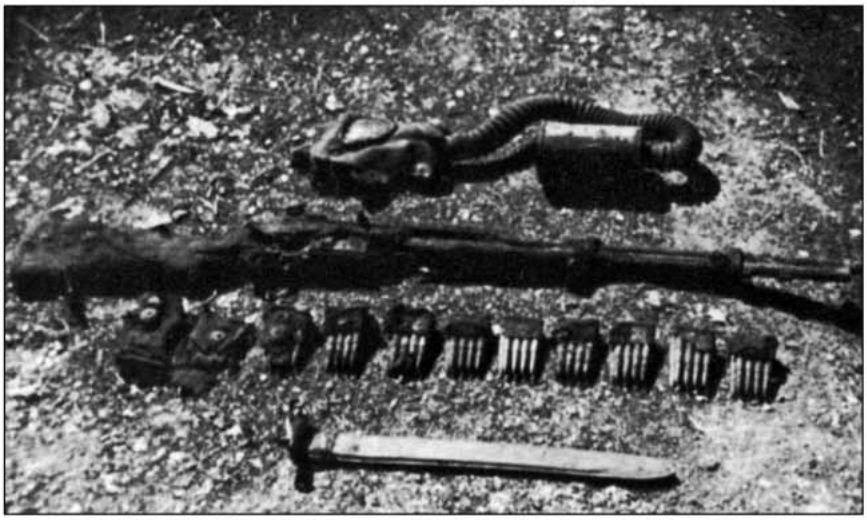
Ben E. Swearingen of Lewisville, Texas has written to us many times with items of information and one particularly interesting follow-up came in February 1979:

'I have just finished reading "Guns of the Great" (issue No. 22) and I thought you might be interested in some additional information on Adolf Hitler's pistol.

'Some months ago I visited Mr. Millwee Owens, Jr., a former officer of Company G, 179th Regiment, 45th Division, in order to buy from him a collection of Hitler relics which he had taken from Hitler's office in the Fuehrerbau in Munich. During our conversation he told me of the finding of a "golden pistol", along with a lot of other

Above: **The German identity discs found by Mr. Welch on Hill 317 at Mortain. That on the left once belonged to Franz Amon, an SS-Pionier with the 15th Kompanie, SS-Panzergrenadier Regiment 38 who was killed on August 5, 1944. He is now buried in Grave 14, Row 1, Block 48 in the German Soldatenfriedhof at La Cambe. Disc numbered 21799 was traced to another pioneer from the 1st Kompanie of the SS-Pionier Battalion 17 — Josef Ameisbichler — last seen on August 10, 1944 and who has no known grave.** *Below:* **US gas mask, Garand rifle, ammo clips and scabbard found in the same area.**

material, in a wall-safe in Hitler's office. He said that he and his friend, Captain Raymond Wantz, had driven up in front of the Fuehrerbau just in time to hear a loud explosion. The troops which had been occupying the building had just received orders to move on and in the last hours much looting went on. When a picture was removed from the wall of Hitler's office, the safe was found and blasted open. In this safe were many items such as jewelled watches, precious stones, etc., all of which had obviously been presented to Hitler at one time or another. Among this cache was the pistol now owned by Mr. Andrew Wright. This pistol was originally taken from the Fuehrerbau by Captain Wantz, and it, along with other material, was eventually sold to the "Musket and Lance" firm in Cleveland, Ohio. From there it went to Mr. Wright. Though Wantz is evidently no longer alive, there seems to be no doubt that the pistol you featured in your story is the one seen by Mr. Owens after the blowing of the safe. The pistol was, therefore, actually owned by Hitler but,



Left: **One of Hitler's SA shirts taken from No. 16 Prinzregentenstrasse and** *right* **the statuette 'lifted' from the Fuehrerbau on the Konigsplatz in Munich in 1945 — both now in Ben Swearingen's private collection in Lewisville, Texas.**

as you point out, it could not possibly have been Hitler's suicide weapon.

'In regard to the pistol owned by Mr. Sivi, and the one supposedly taken from Hitler's personal apartment, the statement of Heinz Linge to me might be of interest to you. In a letter of September 5, 1978, Linge writes: "May I inform you that Hitler, to my knowledge, did not have a Smith and Wesson .22 calibre pistol in his possession." Linge could, of course, be mistaken, but he is generally more reliable than Frau Winter ever was.

'It may further interest you to know that I have in my possession a uniform jacket of Adolf Hitler and a statuette given to Hitler in 1938 by Josef Thorak. The jacket, an SA shirt, was taken from Hitler's Prinzregentenplatz apartment by a former officer of the 222nd Infantry, while the statuette of a horse was taken from the Fuehrerbau by Mr. Millwee Owens. The base of the statuette is engraved: "To my Fuehrer in the great year 1938 — Thorak." The horse is very similar to those Thorak placed in the garden of the Reichskanzlei. In actuality, however, it is an exact duplicate in miniature of a grouping which was to be placed on the top of the Nazi Party headquarters in Nuremberg.'

Ben Swearingen's collection was also enriched in August 1979 by the addition of the brass container which held the poison Goering used in committing suicide as well as the glass vial later found in his vanity case. On the way the poison could have been hidden by Goering, Ben commented that, 'It is absolutely absurd for the Board of Officers (which conducted the subsequent enquiry) to have concluded that Goering kept this cartridge in his navel — it is far too large — and there was no evidence whatsoever that it was ever hidden in the cell toilet.' Ben Swearingen is writing a book on Goering's suicide and would be pleased to hear from anyone with pertinent information. His address is: Box 50109, Lewisville, Texas 75028.

Ben also had some pertinent comments to make concerning Hitler's 'Blood Flag' as I had ruminated on its present whereabouts in issue 25:

'According to Jakob Grimminger, who I knew when I lived in Munich, the flag did not fall into the hands of the Allies. Grimminger was in nine internment camps after the war and always the same question was asked of him: "Where is the Blood Flag?". He told me that he did not know, and I believe this. My own imvestigation convinced me that the Blood Flag survived and in 1967 was in the possession of the widow of one of the earliest Party members. While no proof was offered, this was told to me by someone who was in a position to know.

'I might add that I also knew this woman — you will pardon me if I don't use her name — and her previously friendly attitude toward me drastically changed after I once broached the question. This woman is undoubtedly dead by now and I would imagine that the Blood Flag has been transferred to the care of another.'

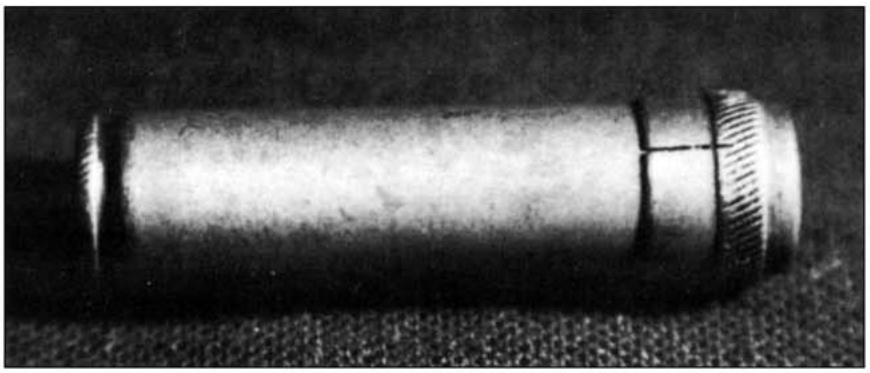
This view was confirmed by another letter from Jeffrey Hanson of Elmwood, Massachusetts who wrote, 'I once made inquiries after the flag, and finally learned from a very reputable source that the flag was removed from the Brown House in Munich by some ultra-fanatical NSDAP members shortly before the Americans entered the city. In the words of my informant, it is today in the hands of "people who will die with the name of Hitler on their lips".'

Andrew Mollo, author of our Dachau story and a prolific collector in his own right, comments that, 'it is amazing the lengths a keen collector will go to get a piece for his collection, but equally amazing are the "stories" to which he has to listen during that agonising moment when he is trying to clinch a deal. For collectors of Third Reich militaria, the most highly-priced items are Waffen-SS uniforms. Original uniforms are very rare, but replicas quite common, so that most collectors approach Waffen-SS items with considerable wariness.

'A few years ago a French collector heard about an SS uniform for sale. It turned out to be an extremely rare field-grey Waffen-SS Panzer uniform in brand new condition. The vendor explained that it had been brought back to France by an inmate of Dachau concentration camp shortly after the end of the war. Rather than send the lucky French survivors home in their striped camp garb, the authorities decided to issue them with the vast quantities of SS uniforms which had been found in store in Dachau.

'The collector carefully inspected the uniform, which had been stripped of insignia, and decided that it was original. He purchased it for a reasonable sum and it held pride of place in his collection when I had the opportunity to see it.

'Sometime later when doing some picture research in a French photo archive I came across a series of remarkable photos which irrefutably confirm the Frenchman's story. It



During his research for his book, Ben Swearingen has come up with some startling implications as to how Hermann Goering was able to obtain the poison to enable him to commit suicide in prison. This is the container, made out of a spent rifle cartridge case, in which it was concealed, now in Ben's collection.

With Third Reich militaria changing hands for considerable sums, positive proof of originality is always welcome. These photos substantiated one item for one French collector (ECP Armees).

only goes to show that collectors should not automatically disbelieve everything they are told when acquiring an item, but should make careful note of the provenance of each piece in their collection.'

Professor John Lattimer, ex-101st Airborne Division, also wrote telling us of a visit to Obersalzberg but in the autumn of 1979: 'The trees growing in the foundations of Hitler's house have now reached very large proportions, making it even more difficult to make anything out. It is much easier to reach it by the path coming down from the General Walker Hotel than by struggling up the hill from below via the old driveway. The underground quarters are still intact and I went through them again just as I did in 1945. They are now barren but dry and well lighted. I could not find the stub of the flag-pole on which we raised the Stars and Stripes on that little hill where Goering's house stood. As I remember it, the flag-pole was on the side towards Goering's house but wonder if you located the stump by digging into the soil.'

In my reply to the Professor, I said that the pole was protruding about two inches when we were there in 1975 and that one of the sad by-products of *After the Battle* magazine (and one I have had much heartache over) is that the publication of something like this so often leads to the item being removed or expropriated by souvenir hunters. Therefore, although I have included a photograph of another armoured relic still to be seen 'in situ', I believe this one will remain for all to see as it would be rather difficult to remove it from its marshy grave.

Another interesting snippet concerning Hitler was published in 1980 — the fact that the dictator's name is still on the roll of honour of a number of West German towns. Apart from Aldenburg, Ansbach, Witten and Weiden, Bad Nauheim included his name as an honorary citizen in a publicity brochure published for tourists on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the founding of the town. The burgomeister and counsellors refused to strike out his name, arguing that it provided good publicity!

An additional point involving 'Der Fuehrer' which, surprisingly, received scant attention in the press, was the demolition of the Burgerbraukeller in Munich in September 1979. Featured in our issue No. 11 (pages 36-39), the historic building was knocked down to make way for a complex of flats, offices and restaurants. Luckily Andrew Mollo was on hand as the contractors were tearing the building down and was able to record what the bomb of November 1939 failed to accomplish.

Finally, as always, one has to own up to one's mistakes. It is surprising how unobservant many of our readers are as only three wrote in to correct me on my latest blunder. So as not to give the game away, try looking again at issue No. 29 — the clue is in the pictures. (For answer turn the page round.)

September 1979 and Andrew Mollo records the demise of another historic site — the Burgerbraukeller in Munich. It was from here that Hitler and his Nazis set out just before noon on November 9, 1923 on their attempt to gain power which ended in fiasco at the Feldherrnhalle. Now, like the movement it once sponsored, it too has been swept away in the tide of progress.

I think it is interesting for readers still to be able to see war relics 'in situ'. At the risk of another tank disappearing like the Matilda at Rainham (see Issues Nos. 6 and 25), this Canadian Ram can be seen at map ref. TQ696746 near Gravesend, Kent.

Look at page 35 centre photo . . . now compare it with that at the top of page 33. Wow! How I came to miss that one I cannot understand. I would be very interested if anyone can tell me why the crude gun is painted on the casemate.

DEM TRAGTIER, DEM UNENTBEHR-
LICHEN HELFER DES MENSCHEN
IN DEN BERGEN ERRICHTET IN
ERINNERUNG AN DIE TRAGTIER-
FÜHRER VON ANGEHÖRIGEN UND
FREUNDEN DER GEBIRGSTRUPPE
1978